

AMERICAN OPINION

In this number

SOME TRUTHS ABOUT CASTRO

J. B. Matthews

WHAT WOULD YOU ASK SOUSTELLE?

TAXES ON CORPORATION INCOME

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AMERICAN OPINION

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January 5, 1959

Dear Reader:

Suppose even Roosevelt had proposed in 1939 that, in peace time (which the present administration insists we now enjoy), our annual budget be around eighty billion dollars.

Suppose that he had proposed a visible national debt of over \$280 billion dollars, and an additional hidden debt of at least twice that amount; a tax on corporate incomes of fifty-two percent and on personal incomes of from twenty to ninety-one percent; and an annual deficit, despite budget, debt, and taxes, some ten to fifteen billion dollars—plus huge sums borrowed and spent outside of the budget.

Suppose the Communists then running Roosevelt should have demanded, at that time, every form and degree of socialism (which we now have) consistent with, and measured by, such expenditures; and that this had been for the visible purpose of changing the economic and political structure of the United States, so that it could be merged with Soviet Russia into a one-world Communist-controlled government. It would have been foolhardy beyond measure, twenty years ago, for the "liberals" thus even to have proposed what the American people now are supinely accepting.

A rancher in Wyoming, who is a good friend of ours, vouches for the accuracy of a revealing bit of natural history. If you toss a frog into hot water, he will jump out so quickly that he suffers no harm. But if you toss a frog into tepid water, and then heat it gradually, you can cook him dead before he tries to escape. Which seems to prove that frogs are no smarter than the American people.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

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EUROPEAN SURVEY

by

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Mailed from New York, December 31, 1958

NONE OF EUROPE'S many wonders is greater than its bounce. That Old World is very old indeed, and a visitor's breathless moment is still that sudden awareness of two millenia looking down upon him. And yet, now that I am home again, remembering my year's European stay "in tranquility," I feel first of all animated by the overwhelming vitality of the Continent. It's only a few years ago that Europe looked, and was, prostrated by a slaughter, of which the mere fiendishness was more than the human spirit seemed likely to endure. I saw Europe the first time after the war in 1946; and though even then I was stirred by some magnificent promises of convalescence, I was not prepared for the whirlwind of exuberant prosperity that encompassed me on landing again in Europe in November of 1957. One year later, I am still primarily impressed by the excitement of physical well-being the Europeans have again attained—no, not "again," but rather for the first time since 1914, when their world went up in a stupid fire.

This European fascination with prosperity—and it can be noticed from Oslo down to Naples, from Lisbon eastward to Berlin—is paradoxically tied to a display of political "prudence" that borders on immobility. On second thought, there is no paradox. Nothing makes people more cautious than comfort, and

the wages of wealth are cowardice. The emaciated people of Europe, who thirteen years ago seemed determined to kill and to die for whatever "ideas" had obsessed their collective minds, have grown portly, and have become jaded with anything that smacks of dedication. A certain melancholy thought hardly ever left me in Europe: If only the Continent had reached that state of pragmatic caution, that selfish reasonableness, *before* the insane contortion of 1914 destroyed a familiar and kind world beyond recognition and beyond repair—there would have been no Bolshevism, no Fascism, no Nazism, no Internationalism, no Isolationism, no United Nations and, who knows, maybe no Dr. Oppenheimer! And a corollary thought never deserted me: Coming now, probably forty years too late, this general European revulsion against "idealism," in itself a sign of commendable maturity, may be Europe's final undoing. To have been "reasonable" and grown-up" and "reserved" in a world that altogether and *simultaneously* moved in the same direction, may indeed have produced a triumph of civilized existence. But to grow that way in a world which is coveted by a "juvenile" and "dynamic" and infinitely cunning Communism is to abdicate.

Europe Is Too Well Fed To Fight . . .

My year in Europe was a postgradu-

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ate course in the subtleties of abdication. Not for many years has Communism been as unpopular in Western Europe as it is today—and never has it been so near victory. Not for many years has there been in Europe that arrogant type of impatience with America's "crude and stubborn" policies as prevails there today. And never before was Europe so sick and tired of the mere idea of conflict, even a conflict to preserve its own existence, as it is today. In the thirties, Europe was agitated and almost conquered by the strategem of the "Popular Front." In the forties, the mental cramp of "Anti-Fascism" almost delivered the Continent to Communism. In the fifties, the name and the symptoms of the sickness are Neutralism; and this time, I am afraid, there will be no saving "almost."

The reasons for my fear are rather obvious. A vehement preference on one side evokes a vehement reaction on the other. And so, the determined scheming of the "Popular Front" operators in the thirties and of the "Anti-Fascism" boys in the forties brought about a determined and, as it happened, successful response of Europe's conservative element. But this time, *nobody* is determined, *nobody* is excited, *nobody* moves. And this, I think, is the ultimately treacherous mire of European history. The Russians, it seems to me, have thoroughly understood their chance—which is the only sensible explanation of Khrushchev's unprecedented elasticity over the last few years. He can afford what neither Lenin nor Stalin was ever able to anticipate—a few years of joyful equanimity. There is no need to push anything. In fact, pushing might be the only factor that could upset the course of events. The

correct strategy for Communism (and Communists have a knack for always using the strategy that, at the moment, is correct for them) is to wait for the inherent consequences of Neutralism; and not to arouse unwarranted Western determination by warlike acts or by relapses into old-fashioned "class warfare."

And The Communists Don't Have To . . .

The giveaway, it seems to me, was the Communists' conduct in France from May, when de Gaulle marched on Paris, to this day, when he comfortably settles down to years of unchallengeable control. The French Communist Party rallied, even under the uniquely adverse conditions of the de Gaulle plebiscite, twenty percent of all French votes—which is just five percent less than the Party had ever obtained, at the very peak of its postwar power. The Communist Party of France, in other words (even though its parliamentary representation has been decimated), has remained the incomparably strongest political force in the country. And yet, the Party hasn't stirred at all since May. Why? Because, as the conventional commentators point out, it was afraid of annihilation? This, of course, is an absurd explanation. Communist Parties all over the world, since 1917, have time and again chosen what seemed to be a "course of annihilation," without blinking an eye, whenever Moscow's strategy required upheaval and unrest in a particular area. Communists (one must remind their foes from time to time) are indeed fanatics, zealots, dedicated, constantly ready for acts of self-sacrifice and even suicide. To say that such zealots are

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motivated by fear of annihilation is to talk nonsense.

The French Communists did not move because, it seems to me, the Moscow High Command has a clear and, I must add, completely correct picture of the European conditions. If Thorez does not provoke de Gaulle into vehement action, there *will be* no vehement action in France. Which means that France (just as all of Europe) will cave in under the weight of the problems that the "prudence" of comfortable people would not dare touch. In the French case, there is above all the heartbreak of Algeria where de Gaulle, in seven months of complete power, has not even *begun* to play for keeps. But it is not only Algeria. It is also the mess of permanent inflation, the ever-faster rotation of the wage-price spiral (which no government with Welfare State aspirations would ever dare break), the on-again-off-again obstructions of a unified European market, the increasing apprehension about the staying of United States forces in Europe and, more than anything else, a growing obsession with ideas of "disengagement." The Russians, in short, have realized that prosperity in capitalist countries works even more reliably in their favor than depression—and this, it seems to me, is one of the truly new developments in recent years.

[As we have pointed out in an earlier one of these editorial "asides," many of our well-informed friends—including another excellent correspondent of ours in Europe—feel that Mr. Schlamm is underrating the ability, patience, and determination with which de Gaulle is approaching his problems in the proper order. They think that there is, in de Gaulle's climbing star, much revived

promise for the future—the future of France herself, and the future of a free Western Europe through the greater strength France will be able to contribute to that community of nations. We hope they are right, as we are sure Mr. Schlamm does, too. And we think we see more reasons to justify that hope than he appears to see. But we are sure that, in his own articles, we should let Mr. Schlamm call the score as it looks to him, nevertheless. Editor]

While Prosperity Works For Marx . . .

The orthodox Marxian tenet was always, of course, a fatalistic belief that periods of boom will be followed by periods of bust, when the fruits of the Revolution at last must ripen. What Lenin called "the revolutionary situation" was defined by him as "a time when the masses do not want, and the capitalists are not able, to go on." Prosperity was considered history's lost time, while depression contained all the promises of "new birth." Before our eyes, it seems to me, the Bolsheviks are correcting that tenet. They have discovered that it is, on the contrary, prosperity that ripens the hopes of Communism—provided, of course, that the decisive methods of Revolution are no longer "class-warfare," but the accumulation of military power on the Communist side and the encouragement of Pacifism on the other.

Once this condition has been attained (i.e., the existence of an expanding Communist Empire of towering military strength), then prosperity is the midwife of Communism. For it is, over and over again, the prosperity-conscious and the prosperity-minded people who will be politically, economically, spiritually and nervously ready

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to buy "peace" at any price; while in the distress and discomfort of depression a nation may be more easily swayed into a policy that takes chances. And my year of advanced education in European "political physics" (the widely neglected science of the stresses that result in social catastrophes), has taught me above all the equation that seems to be the centerpiece of Khrushchev's strategic considerations: The prospects of the political aggressor grow in direct proportions to the comfortableness of the antagonist; so that it is in the aggressor's interest to encourage, on the antagonist's side, all prosperity-minded forces, particularly those which find in the "status quo" the fountainhead of prosperity.

"Peace" Works For Marx . . .

It was one of the major pains during that year to see how every single political shot fired from Washington into the European area was a dud. If this had been due only to the normal myopia, if not stupidity, of political warriors, I would have felt so much better; and indeed, things *would* have been better. For the normal workings of the law of probability would have seen to it that, out of so many shots, occasionally a bull's-eye would have been hit. It never was—*not once*. No, it could not have been an interminable chain of mistakes. A more generally valid reason must have been at work than just plain incompetence; and that reason, I suspect, is our stubborn refusal to understand the nature of the enemy. Worse even. We are playing a game, to the tune of forty billion dollars per year, that has nothing to do with the game our opponent is playing. We never win at that card game because the

enemy is not playing cards, but football. Yes, the situation is that weird.

What I am referring to primarily is our obsession with war and peace. And it's by no means only America's obsession. The entire West is mesmerized into a preoccupation with the one thing that, most reliably, would never enter Khrushchev's mind—namely, an armed conflagration. If our determination to avoid war equals ten, then the Soviets' determination to avoid war *at all costs* equals a hundred. A general war is the last thing Khrushchev would resort to, if only because war is the one situation in which the enslaved peoples of the Soviet Empire could follow their own impulses and change sides. The entire political battlefield in Europe is so hopelessly confused, and the Communists advance everywhere with such apparent ease, because the two sides never join battle. We are fighting the windmills of "war-dangers," while the Communists conquer uncontested and even unmanned fortifications. And the eerie laws of that ghost-like war are being demonstrated right now in the European area of decision—in Germany.

Khrushchev Calls His Shots . . .

Khrushchev's pompously announced breakthrough in Berlin, scheduled openly and officially for June 1, 1959, is a masterful application of these laws. The whole brazen performance cannot be understood if one forgets for a moment that the Soviets are determined *not* to fight a war. But they do assume, and quite correctly, that we are obsessed with apprehensions that they *might*. Therefore, the strategic task was to pose a problem *we* would view in the exclusive perspectives of fighting or

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avoiding a war, while the Soviets, completely unperturbed by such self-tortures, would pursue a goal of completely different nature—namely, the enforcement of Western political relations with the Communist Government of East Germany.

The concentration of United States attention on the fate of Berlin exactly fits the mathematical problem. For six months the entire West will increasingly tremble over the possible consequences of the unfolding Berlin crisis; and while our military men may even look to their ammunition, the political climate throughout the entire prosperous West will be increasingly controlled by a desperate readiness to "settle without war." Which is precisely why the Soviets have announced the crisis six months in advance: to give us plenty of time to stew in the juices of our own excitement. And they can act in that fashion because they surely know that there *will* be no conflagration. The decision on that, after all, is entirely in their hands. All the Soviets intend to achieve is exactly what we shall be only too happy to concede in May as the price for "avoiding war"—namely, our readiness to do business, in order to "assure the supplies of West Berlin," with Comrade Ulbricht's Quisling Government. Before this is achieved, there will be five more months of nervous contortions in the prosperity-conscious West, five more months of "mounting crisis," five more months of a poker game we are playing with no one but ourselves. The Soviets in the meantime keep on playing football. And they will obtain a touchdown because nobody else is on the field. The Soviets are in the business of international politics. We are in the business of repressing the

typical fears of comfortable people. That's all we do.

To Knock Out West Germany . . .

The Berlin touchdown could practically finish the game. Because, by getting the problem solved their way, the Soviets would have planted in West Germany a most destructive time bomb. Now it is, first of all, crucial to realize that West Germany has once more become the decisive force in Europe (west of the Iron Curtain)—that, in fact, West Germany almost *is* Europe, so far as effective opposition to the Soviets is concerned. The only other two continental powers that can compare at least numerically are non-entities for all practical purposes of military and political strategy: France is hopelessly absorbed, for years to come, by the Algerian hemorrhage and by deep-seated domestic economic troubles; and Italy, never exactly an impressive ally in serious ventures, is, on top of that, right now fascinated with some wild schemes of "Italian preponderance" in Arab lands. England, on the other hand, is more Empire-minded and less "European" than ever. Thus, for the present discussion, Western Europe is fundamentally *identical* with West Germany—there *is* no other Continental power of real consequence in the struggle. And if the Soviet policy were ever to succeed in gaining even indirect control over Bonn, either through a forced "confederation" with the East German Communists or by final "neutralization" of Western Germany, the battle for Europe would be over.

And the Berlin plot is of course meant to serve towards this end. The popular support of the Adenauer Government (the most loyal ally of West-

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ern policies the United States has ever found in Europe) is generally overrated. It is my (rather conservative) guess that the West German opposition against Adenauer's firmness has risen above forty percent. This opposition consists mostly, of course, of the Social Democratic voters, who polled thirty-five percent of the total at the last elections. Even assuming that Adenauer is to live for a few more years (he is eighty-three), his acceptance by the German people is fatefully connected with the one popularly accepted axiom—that he presides over the *only* sovereign German government. To vote for Adenauer, for the last several years, was to express one's faith that there is only one Germany. The moment the Western powers, for whatever professed reason, start official contacts with East Germany's Communist regime, no West German is sure any more that Adenauer retains any important trumps. Once the Ulbricht gang has been promoted to governmental respectability (and nobody in Germany will pay the slightest attention to the fine distinction Lawyer Dulles is already drawing—namely, that the United States might be dealing with Ulbricht "as a Soviet agent, but not as a government"), once the synthetic Berlin crisis has been resolved according to Khrushchev's plan, the "neutralists" and appeasers in West Germany are most likely to succeed Adenauer. For, in that case, the West German *Bürger*, as anxious to keep out of trouble as anybody in Kansas City, will feel compelled to anticipate a deal between Bonn and Ulbricht—some kind of "con-federation," some kind of "disengagement" between West and East. And there goes Europe.

What I have been seeing in Europe,

day after day, for a whole year, taught me, emphatically, never to assume abroad a comprehension and a readiness greater than that of my own country. George *won't* do it—that much I know now beyond a doubt. On the contrary, if the United States were ever to straighten itself up, into a posture of decisiveness and firmness, it would have to do so without paying any attention to its "public relations" on the Continent. Every gesture of American determination will be greeted there with anguish, fear and disgust. After a while, of course, once it has sunk in that we *mean* it, Europeans may get used to the idea that a showdown can no longer be avoided—in which case they will dependably hurry to be on the winning side. But it would be futile and self-defeating to wait for *their* determination, or to interpret ours as an attempt at complying with *their* wishes. Their only wish is to stay prosperous and to avoid pain. American "internationalists," who keep scolding our "isolationists," should go for a few weeks to Europe and study *real* isolationism—an affliction of the imagination and will power that is caused by too comfortable living.

And Everbody Goes Along . . .

When I came to Europe, in November 1957, the Continent was in a con-
niption about Sputnik. When I left, a year later, the Continent was even more impressed by the Soviets' boldness in announcing, six months ahead of the climactic crisis, that the United States will have to recognize the Communist regime in East Germany. Now, listening in on Europe from home, nothing seems to me more significant than the fact that the Continent, unlike

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the United States, does not for a second consider the possibility of war. Over there, they know too well that no one, on either side, wants to fight. From reading in New York the German, French, and Italian press, I would not even know that there *is* a "Berlin crisis." It is simply being "discounted" (as they say on Wall Street). The smart European money is on "a deal." That this deal, in the *long* run, will mean the end of Europe, no intelligent European observer would deny. But he also will assure you that what counts for a Europe obsessed with "good times" is the *short* run—the painless arrangement. And so everybody is praying that the United States will prove "reasonable" in May—everybody, that is, but Adenauer.

The new Pope, with a diplomatic gesture of great finesse, has encouraged

the "peace makers." He has ended the "anomaly" that Pope Pius XII favored with a noble man's comprehension of symbols. This was the continued representation of a conquered Lithuania at the Holy See, and the representation of Catholic Poland through the Ambassador appointed by the last legitimate Polish Government. Thus, Pope John XXIII has "modernized" the Vatican's political style to the point of what Messrs. Kennan and Lippmann call "realism." In doing this, the Pope is indubitably complying with Europe's reigning public opinion; and only the future will tell with what else he was complying. All I know at this point, on my return home, is that Europe is getting ready to be taken over by telephone. I think I can assure you that not a shot will be fired.

PARADISE IN 1946

by

VIRGIL A. SMITH

WE ARE IN MOSCOW. It is September, 1945. V-J Day is not long past but the world is theoretically at peace. It seems to be the opinion of most of the staff of the American Embassy, however, that there is no peace on this earth so long as the Red Star hangs over the Kremlin.

Upon my arrival in Moscow, quarters have been provided for me in "Americanski Dome." This American House

was once the mansion of a wealthy Russian merchant. That was before the Revolution. Most of the male personnel of the Embassy, of the Military Attaché, and of the Naval Attaché are now lodged in this one building. There is little privacy for any of us.

It is my good fortune to make friends with Alexander Dolgun. He is a handsome sixteen-years-old lad, employed by the Embassy as interpreter and general

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helper. Alexander's family had emigrated to the United States in the early 1920's, and had acquired American citizenship. Alexander himself had been born in the United States. But in 1939, due to the grave illness of his grandmother, the Dolgun family had made the mistake of returning to the U.S.S.R. for a visit. They are still here. According to Soviet law, at least as it stands in 1945-6, once a Russian, always a Russian; the basic citizenship of a Russian can never be changed. Even though Alexander Dolgun is American born, and even though he, his sister, and his parents, all hold American passports, they are not permitted to leave the Soviet Union.

Alexander knows a Russian woman, Yakatrina Evinova Dudina, who agrees to let me have a tiny room in her tiny apartment. She is a widow. One soon learns not to ask about the missing members in a Russian family; therefore Mrs. Dudina's husband is never mentioned. But she is white-haired, kind, and thoughtful. Her apartment becomes my home throughout my one-year stay as Director of the American Embassy Mail Room in Moscow.

II

AMERICANS ON DUTY in the Soviet Union in 1946 numbered less than two hundred. This took into account both our Foreign Service and Military personnel at the United States Consulate General's office in Vladivostok, the same personnel at our Consular Office in Odessa, as well as all of our Embassy, Military Attaché, and Naval Attaché people in Moscow. Our Consular and Naval Attaché offices in Murmansk had been ordered closed by the Soviets just as soon as American war supplies and

equipment ceased coming to them at that point.

You might ask how many official Soviet personnel the United States allowed within its own boundaries in 1946. The answer is, well over three thousand. But when our Department of State sought to increase its staff in Moscow, permission was denied by the Soviet Foreign Office "because of the serious housing shortage" in that city.

On Thursday evenings all of the Embassy employees would go to Spaso House, the residence of the American Ambassador, to see a current motion picture. Our friends from the British Embassy were usually there too. Tuesday nights the British Embassy in turn showed a motion picture, and most of us would go to see it.

Another important part of our social life was the privilege of attending the extremely good Russian theatre, at very modest prices. We spent a lot of our evenings at the Bolshoi, seeing such ballets as *Swan Lake* and *Romeo and Juliet* superbly performed.

Many of the men at the Embassy had very charming Russian girl friends. Embassy and Military Attaché men seldom entertained the thought of marrying a Russian woman, however. For of the fifteen Americans at the Embassy and Military Attaché office who had married Russian women between 1934 and 1946, only two had been successful in getting their wives from behind the Iron Curtain. As to the unmarried American women employed at the Embassy, the Soviets must have decided that the American men on our staffs could take care of their social needs. To the best of my knowledge no American woman was ever dated by a Russian man.

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In the Revolution Day Parade of 1945 the best Russian military equipment had been paraded through Red Square. All of the trucks seen by us through binoculars from the American Embassy Building, which faced Red Square, were Studebakers. The light, medium, and heavy tanks that rumbled past were also American made. Many Russians who spoke to me in 1945 and 1946 appeared to be aware of the great quantities of American *food* as well as *armament* which had been supplied to the Soviet Union when they were so desperately needed. Most of the Russian people, at that time, seemed to admire and like "Americka" and to be deeply grateful to us.

Mrs. Dudina referred to me more than once as "On bagatte chilovik." ("He is rich people.") For my wardrobe contained several suits and shirts, and pairs of shoes; and it seemed to her that my food supply was endless. When, through the Embassy's efforts, it was possible for me to have a *full truck load of wood* delivered to her wood bin, Mrs. Dudina showed signs of being greatly impressed.

More than once after a visitor had departed Mrs. Dudina would say to me "On kulturnya chilovik." ("He is cultured people.") This seemed to be one of the highest compliments which a Russian could pay to another Russian. One evening at dinner Mrs. Dudina said to me "Ya maninke chilovik." ("I'm only little people.") She was to repeat this many times in the future. To her, *big people* ran everything; *little people* were only *followers*. This completely helpless feeling of having absolutely no control over one's own destiny seemed to be shared by most other adult Russian people.

Mrs. Dudina neither drank nor smoked. But she could, with the greatest dexterity, sweeten three to four cups of hot tea, the Russian national drink, by placing between her teeth one very small piece of hard sugar. She was a devout Russian Orthodox Catholic. Each Saturday afternoon Mrs. Dudina went to the "Public Banya" to bathe, so that she would be clean for church the following day. In the corner of her room were three icons; one of Mary and the Christ child, one of Saint Peter, and one of Saint Paul. A small vase of oil containing a wick always burned under them. Before each meal Mrs. Dudina would look at these icons with reverence, and cross herself.

Dudina's small three-room apartment was near the American Embassy, Red Square, and the Kremlin. Built in the last century, it had no bathroom, no hot water, no ice box, nor telephone. Two "outhouse style privies" were provided in the building for six apartments. Shortly after my arrival a telephone was placed in my room, which measured five feet by six and one-half feet. Adjoining mine was a corridor-like room of the same dimensions. It contained a wood stove, which seemed to occupy at least half of the small space. A rust-covered basin under a cold-water tap and a large samovar (tea maker) on a small table completed the furnishings. We had our meals, which Dudina prepared, in her room, which measured seven feet by eight feet. For furniture in that room there was a bed, a dining table, a small cupboard, and an 1898-model Singer Sewing Machine of which Dudina was very proud. And one more item. Attached to the north wall of her room was a small green box. It was a radio speaker,

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permanently tuned to Radio Moscow. The radio had one knob, a volume control. To turn it off one had to pull the plug from an electric outlet four feet below the speaker. Dudina had to listen to Radio Moscow, or nothing.

During my year-long stay in Moscow I did not see, in any apartment visited, anything as modern as a frosted light bulb. For the proletariat at least, for the little people, the only light bulbs available in 1946 were copies of our 1920-model bulbs in which the filament was clearly outlined.

III

MEMBERS OF OUR Embassy staff were constantly followed in their travels about Moscow. This ex-member knows *he* was, because frequently he could spot the NKVD agent tailing him. At times Alexander was with me, and he showed me the technique of identifying the agent behind us. Often, when strolling along we would turn two or three corners very quickly. And a plainclothes NKVD man whom we had seen a few minutes earlier would equally quickly come into view.

Whenever, due to my taking a day of my annual leave or sick leave, the NKVD did not see me go to the Embassy, invariably there would be a telephone call between nine and ten that morning. Each time such a call came I answered the phone, then gave it to Dudina. Invariably it would be a case of "wrong number" or "mistaken identity." The NKVD had heard my voice, which was all they wanted. When Dudina replaced the receiver, she always shook her head and then crossed her hands before her face. The index and middle fingers of her hands formed "V's" through which she could peek

with her eyes. This was Dudina's way of telling me, without speaking the dread word *NKVD* or *Narcomendel*, that it was an agent of this *political police force* calling to check on my whereabouts. At no time, day or night, other than on these particular mornings, did any call of "mistaken identity" or "wrong number" ever come to my telephone. I was sure that Dudina knew whereof she spoke.

There was one morning when I was ill at home that three of these "mistaken identity" calls came at intervals of twenty minutes. Three different NKVD agents must have been given the assignment to check on my whereabouts, perhaps through some error. By the time the third one telephoned, Dudina was incensed, almost beyond words. When the feminine voice said to her, "Stow eto?" ("Who is speaking?"), she replied, "Eto pope catore yope" ("This is the priest who is sleeping with you"), and replaced the receiver. To her religiously inclined mind this was probably the greatest insult that could be paid to any woman.

During another conversation, at mealtime, I once asked her: "Here I am in your apartment. Why are you not afraid of the NKVD?" She replied with a shrug: "Yo ochen starry chilovik!" ("I am very old people.") In effect she was saying, "The NKVD is not interested in a relic like me." With her meaning pieced out from other conversations, she was saying further: "I have lived my life. One of my sons was killed, while in the Red Army, on the Western Front in 1944. The other is thousands of miles away. He is stationed at Port Arthur, not too far from Vladivostok. He may have to spend the remaining days of his life in the Red

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Army. So, what does it matter? At least, while you are here, I can enjoy a few of the luxuries of life."

What were the luxuries which she might have listed? They were plenty of wood for her stove, and adequate supplies of sugar, soap, tea, *fancy foods*, and clothing. For most Russians, in 1946, anything other than black bread, potatoes, and sour cabbage would have been termed *fancy food*.

IV

TWICE A WEEK it was necessary for me to go to Vuncova Airport, about eighteen miles from Moscow, in connection with the arrival and departure of our Diplomatic couriers. These trips were made in a United States Army truck with a Russian chauffeur at the wheel. On one such trip we had a flat tire about six miles out of Moscow. While the chauffeur was changing the tire, a middle-aged Russian pedestrian approached me. In Russian he said: "Will you give me a cigarette, please?" I gave him one. Immediately he pulled out his cigarette lighter. It was composed of three separate items: a flint, a piece of steel, and an old oil-soaked rag. He was promptly given a light from the fire of an American match.

Besides the Dolgun family there were other American citizens with American passports, whom I came across, being held in Russia. At different times and locations in Moscow I was told much the same story by three different American-born engineers. In the early 1930's each of them had been approached, in the senior year of his engineering studies, by an agent of Burobin, the Russian Purchasing Commission in New York City. Each one was offered a good contract. Times seemed hard in the United

States. Each man had "jumped" at the offer. About three years later, in every case, each man had lost his passport.

For each of these American engineers the disappearance of his passport had occurred close to the time when he was about to pick up his pay and return to the United States. The probability seems very small that three occurrences so similar could, through natural circumstances, come to pass in so identical a manner. There could hardly be any question about the passports being stolen by the Soviets. When these three American engineers insisted that they were American citizens, our State Department issued each of them a new passport. But the Soviets would not honor the new passports, and the replacements *availed them nothing*. If any one of these Americans is still alive today, he is somewhere in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Other than official personnel and news men, the only Americans who were permitted to come to Moscow and depart therefrom were several fur buyers from New York City. The official rate of exchange in 1946 was five rubles for one dollar. The "Diplomatic rate of exchange," used by most of us at the Embassy, was twelve rubles to the dollar. If, however, you had the green American money and knew where to go, as these gentlemen did, you could get fifty rubles to the dollar. And an American Diplomatic courier told me, one week after he had made a flight from Budapest, that in that city you could get two hundred Russian rubles for one American dollar.

It was my understanding that the pay of a private in the Red Army, in 1946, was ten rubles a month. The pay of a lieutenant in the same army was a

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thousand rubles per month. The pay of a skilled worker was a thousand to twelve hundred rubles a month. Dudina paid eight to ten rubles for one egg on the "open market." One kilogram of butter (2.2 pounds) sold there for five hundred rubles. Oleomargarine was an unheard of product in the U.S.S.R. A carton of American cigarettes could be bought on this market—or so I was told by one of my friends on the Embassy staff—for two hundred rubles. This premium price was undoubtedly justified and made possible by the poor quality of Russian cigarettes. They tasted like coffee.

Gastronoms, or foodstores, were available where food items could be purchased in very limited quantities at "controlled prices." Depending on Ivan's importance as a government servant, he would be assigned a certain class of gastronome. Those of us who served with the American Embassy were most fortunate, for we could buy at the Diplomatic *Gastronome*. Our coupon books allowed each of us three eggs per month. A United States Army Post Exchange was provided for us in the basement of the Embassy Building. Here we could buy staples and canned goods to supplement the very limited Russian food available at "controlled prices."

One item of interesting information was confirmed for me by a Russian

friend, Susan Egiva. She had a legitimate and acceptable excuse for dating me. Susan was a student, majoring in English, at the Foreign Language Institute. In a sad mood one day, she said to me: "You know, there is not a single family in all of Russia which has not been touched by an NKVD arrest. In some cases only a distant relative may be involved, but it is true, nevertheless."

Among my many surprises was the discovery that neither Vuncova Airport nor any of the airports in or around Moscow had a hard-surfaced runway. In the mail room one day a TOP SECRET REPORT on this subject passed through my hands. It stated that (in 1946) there was not an airport in all of the Soviet Union with a paved or asphalt runway.

The most striking of my memories of the Soviet Union in 1946, however, is the extent to which all of the heavy work was done by women. Most vivid of all is the picture of these Russian women, holding sticks resembling the handle of a broom with a spike in the end of it, chipping the ice off Moscow's main sidewalks and streets. And right after that glorious Revolution Day Parade of 1945, who shoveled the horse leavings into buckets and carts and hauled them away from Red Square? You guessed it. The Russian women.

We Pause To Remark

In the third quarter of 1958 the United States Government issued export licenses for the shipment to Russia of over five million dollars' worth of cold rolled steel and for a complete continuous galvanizing mill. But of course nobody — in Washington, anyway — could possibly consider steel a "strategic" material. A friend of ours in the business, however, says that this is a heck of a non-professional and roundabout way to make barbed-wire fences.

Another Look At TAXES ON CORPORATION INCOME

by

HANS F. SENNHOLZ

NO GOVERNMENT POLICY reveals more clearly the advances of socialism in the United States than does the corporation tax. And probably no other intervention is more instrumental in destroying the market economy. To be sure, all levels of government—federal, state, and local—have imposed a variety of taxes on corporations. But it is the federal tax on corporation income which overshadows all others in tragic importance.

This tax had its beginning with the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution, authorizing direct taxes on income. It started in 1913 at the modest rate of one percent. Since then it has risen almost continuously until it now stands at the record rate of nearly fifty-two percent. As the federal government is still spending more than it takes in, the possibility of even higher rates cannot be disregarded. And of course the owners of a corporation are subject to personal income taxes by various states, up to fifteen percent, and personal federal income taxes progressing up to ninety-one percent, in addition to all of the taxes on the corporation.

The history of the federal tax on corporation income reveals a frightening trend. During World War I the rate was raised from one percent to twelve percent. All "excess" profits above a peacetime "normal" were taxed at rates ranging from twenty to sixty percent. In 1919 the corporation income

tax was reduced to ten percent. Two years later the excess profits tax was abolished, but the income tax was raised to twelve and one-half percent. It was increased by one percent more in 1925, and reduced again to twelve percent in 1928.

During the depression, in 1932, this tax rate was raised to 13¾ percent. In 1935 the rate was made progressive, ranging from 12½ percent on the first two thousand dollars of a corporation's income to fifteen percent on any excess above forty thousand dollars. The Roosevelt Administration also began imposing a number of "supplementary" taxes, such as a combined "excess profits" and "capital stock" tax, a payroll tax, and an undistributed profits tax with rates ranging from seven percent to twenty-seven percent. And on the occasion of each new tax the corporation income tax rate was itself further increased. In 1940 it stood at nineteen percent. During World War II the maximum rate was raised to forty percent. An excess profits tax was added, with a rate schedule which at first was progressive but finally became a flat ninety-five percent. The maximum of both income tax and excess profits taxes together was eighty percent of a corporation's net income.

After the war, in 1946, the excess profits tax was repealed. The income tax was reduced to thirty-eight percent. But following the out-break of the

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Korean trouble the rates were sharply increased again. The whole income was taxed at thirty percent, and that part over twenty-five thousand dollars at an additional twenty-two percent. An "excess profits" tax was further imposed, but was allowed to expire at the end of 1953. This means that the total tax rate on the income of most corporations now amounts to something less than fifty-two percent.

An Unfair Double Tax

It is difficult to trace the numerous effects of this tax into all details. But obviously it constitutes double taxation on many individuals. For all taxes eventually fall on individuals. Corporation taxes are borne by individuals who own an enterprise in the form of a corporation. But, in addition, these individuals are subject to the same personal income taxes payable by all others. They pay personal taxes on whatever income they derive from the corporation, after the corporation has already paid its own taxes on earnings. Thus they are taxed twice on the same income by the same government authority.

Personal income from other activities and from other forms of investment is free from such double taxation. Income from real estate, interest income from bonds and mortgages, and earnings from unincorporated businesses, for instance, are subject only to the recipient's personal income tax.

The corporation income tax imposes high rates on all shareholders, regardless of their ability to pay. A man in the relatively low twenty-percent tax bracket, for instance, may have to pay more than fifty percent on his corporate income (however small his share

may be), before he is taxed again on the same income as dividend. Even a man who, because of exemptions, is not subject to personal income tax at all, must pay more than fifty percent on his investment earnings. And of course the effect is not altered any by the fact that, instead of him personally handing the money over, the corporation sends it to the government before he ever sees it.

Under the present law a single man without dependents must earn forty-five thousand dollars per year to be taxed at the rate of 51.6 percent of his personal income. But any stockholder, regardless of his earnings, his family status, or the number of dependents, is thus taxed at the rate of a bachelor with an annual income of forty-five thousand dollars. After the corporation of which he is part owner has paid this tax, if some of the remaining earnings are distributed as dividends, this stockholder pays more taxes—which makes his total rate still higher.

For an illustration, take the father who has a number of dependents, who is in the twenty-percent bracket, and whose corporate investments yield a return of one thousand dollars. The federal government, through the corporate income tax, claims more than five hundred dollars of what his savings have earned before any of it becomes available to him at all. And when he does receive the rest as a dividend, he must pay another twenty percent, or one hundred dollars, as a personal income tax on it. Altogether, he must let the federal government take approximately six hundred dollars, or sixty percent of the earnings of his investment. It is true, the 1945 tax code revision introduced an exemption of

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one hundred dollars and an additional tax credit of four percent on dividends, so that these magnanimous concessions do reduce his liability to something less than sixty percent. Nevertheless, our family father, whose total income may be quite small, is taxed on an important part of that income at the same rate as a bachelor earning almost seventy thousand dollars per year. Such is the "social justice" of the income tax on corporations. It bears down on every individual, regardless of his wealth or income, as if he were a millionaire.

Although individuals in higher income brackets are already subject to confiscatory personal income taxes reaching a maximum of ninety-one percent, the corporate income tax tends to increase their tax burden even further. At the present time a taxpayer without dependents, earning one million dollars through *unincorporated* business activity, pays \$884,820 in income taxes to the federal government. But if he carries on the same activity through the instrumentality of a corporation, it pays approximately \$510,000 of the million earned, as a corporate income tax; after which he himself must pay as personal income tax \$420,720 of the remaining \$490,000 which he receives as dividend. Altogether this stockholder pays more than \$930,000 of his one million dollars of corporate earnings, in taxes to the federal government.

One "exception" needs to be mentioned, to this rule that the corporate income tax, as a double tax, increases the total taxes for high and low. If, after a corporation's taxes are paid, all or a large part of its remaining earnings be kept in the business, then no personal income tax on dividends is involved. The net result, so long as the

owners of a corporation do not take out what they earn to spend it, is that the corporate income tax may be "less confiscatory" than the personal income tax. But the forces which are bent on confiscation have recognized that too, and have done something about it. The "exception" has largely been eliminated by revenue acts that imposed "penalty" taxes on "unreasonable" and "improper" withholdings of profits. If a corporation fails to distribute a substantial part of current earnings as dividends, tax agents may levy an additional 27½ percent on the corporation's income under \$100,000, and 38½ percent on the excess over \$100,000. It is obvious that these penalty rates on top of the normal corporate income tax rates not only negate the exception, but may mean even higher taxation.

Gateway For Government Arbitrariness

The corporate income tax has opened the legal gates for government discretion and arbitrariness. It has authorized the federal bureaucracy to pry about in all business matters, and to wield decisive power over business activity. The "penalty" taxation on "unreasonable" and "improper" withholdings of profits, for instance, has delivered the businessman to the mercy of the tax collector. What is "improper" and "unreasonable"? Obviously, every answer must be wholly subjective and arbitrary. And every penalty tax reveals a conflict of opinions in which that of the tax authority differs from, and prevails over, that of the taxpayer.

But even if both could agree on the definition of "improper" and "unreasonable" withholdings, they would still be at odds on other tax concepts. Dif-

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ferences of opinion always exist on such basic terms as corporate income, business costs, inventory value, depreciation, obsolescence, and many others. Of course, the opinions which prevail are those of the tax authorities. Every day their words not only seriously affect business decisions, but also present businessmen with new crucial problems. In fact, taxes probably are the most important concern of present-day American businessmen.

Wage and salary earners often envy the businessman his "freedom" to calculate and declare his own taxes. They don't realize that this "freedom" actually is the freedom of the tax collectors to swarm about a man's business, pry into his books, and squeeze more money out of his enterprise. It is true, a businessman may have recourse to higher tax authorities and tax courts. But such recourse, although it may assure a certain degree of uniformity in ultimate decisions and a certain amount of protection from personal oppression by tax agents, still cannot remedy the arbitrary nature of the final computation of business taxes. And because such a courageous step may involve tremendous legal costs, long periods of waiting, and the risk of future retaliation, only very large enterprises actually enjoy this protection and uniformity.

We can also observe the arbitrariness of business taxation, and the resulting frightful power of the tax authorities over businessmen, at work in the political arena. One manifestation is the frequency with which the Internal Revenue Office is immediately called into action whenever a citizen has earned the hostility of the Administration. The Internal Revenue Office is today the punitive arm of the massive

body of government.

Economic Growth Prevented

The economic effects of the corporate tax are very extensive, and reach everyone. The tax hampers economic production and withdraws capital from the economy. All production and consumption must be adjusted to the results of the corporation tax.

How would a corporation employ its profits if they were not withdrawn as taxes? It could keep them in the business or disburse them to its stockholders as dividends. There are no other alternatives. If the profits stay in the business, they are used for a great variety of purposes. They may serve to expand the plant, install better equipment, enlarge employment, raise wages, retire company debt, or otherwise strengthen the enterprise. Each use tends to improve production, raise output, reduce product prices, and thus benefit the workers and consumers. If the corporation decides to distribute its earning as dividends, the stockholders will enjoy higher incomes; and most of the increase in those incomes will be available for new investments and additional business activity.

The present corporation tax, however, works in just the opposite direction. It not only destroys the incentive for expansion, but also absorbs the very means needed for such expansion. Especially are economic ventures involving great risk made prohibitive, because the costs of failure are borne by the entrepreneur and most of the financial fruits of success are reaped by the government. Who can afford to take chances with such odds against him?

The corporation tax also makes the use of venture money or equity capital

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less attractive to the corporation as well as to the investor. It thus encourages corporate financing through bonds, mortgages, leases, and other forms of debt or liability. For at the present tax rate a corporation, in order to have one dollar to pay out in dividends on such risk capital, must earn over two dollars in order to cover the tax take first. But interest payments require no such margin for the government. On the contrary, interest payments constitute business costs and thus reduce the tax burden. The whole weight of the corporation tax is thrown against the accumulation of capital and in favor of the creation of debt.

The income taxes, together with a great many other business taxes, have created a new profession; that of tax agents, tax counselors, tax accountants, tax lawyers, and tax specialists of many kinds. These experts are aided by large clerical staffs. The tax laws have forced corporations vastly to increase their accounting departments, and to operate their businesses more and more in a bureaucratic fashion. All of this not only breeds inefficiency, but also adds heavy additional expenses to the productive costs of a business.

Also, at the expense of the stockholders and without compensation of any kind, corporations—together with other enterprises—even have to act as tax collectors. They are forced to withhold the taxes of their employees and to keep accounts of this withholding that are satisfactory to tax agents. The present tax system bleeds the productive economy by withdrawing millions of men and women from productive employment and placing them in ever larger offices, keeping and analyzing business accounts. Under the coercion

of our tax legislation a large part of the American labor force, in fact, is side-tracked from productive efforts into building pyramids of paper work for the government.

Then, Why Corporations?

With all of the government discrimination against stockholders and their corporations, why do we still have incorporated enterprises? There are several reasons.

Most corporations were organized before the days of confiscatory corporation taxes. Having hundreds or thousands of stockholders, they cannot convert now to other forms of business organization. The only choice left them would be liquidation, which in most cases would be disastrous for the investors. Corporations that have been organized more recently are frequently offshoots from larger corporations seeking to reduce their tax liabilities. The first twenty-five thousand dollars of corporate earnings are taxed at the relatively low rate of thirty percent instead of fifty two percent. Obviously, therefore, corporate owners can reduce the total tax leak by founding a number of smaller corporations.

In many fields of production the corporate form of enterprise is the only feasible one. It allows businessmen to act together as a legal entity. It can combine the capital resources of numerous individuals and then maintain its identity regardless of changes in its individual membership. For modern mass production corporations indeed are absolutely essential.

These considerations have led to fundamental capital adjustments rather than to corporation liquidations. Wherever practicable, equity capital has

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withdrawn from the corporation and sought employment as loan capital. Frequently capital withdrawn has returned to the same corporation as debt. Most corporate owners, in fact, agree on the desirability of "keeping the corporation poor."

Further Harmful Results

The impact of confiscatory corporation taxes has also reduced the market value of equity capital. Throughout the 1930's and 1940's, when the tax rates were rapidly increased, stock prices were declining. This fact was hidden by the vast inflation and its depreciation of the value of our money. But even in spite of this depreciation stock prices in 1942 were at lower levels than in 1924, and at much lower ratios of price to net worth. Even in 1951 stock prices still were lower than during most of 1930, when the "Great Depression" had been well under way.

The corporation tax has inflicted huge losses on stockholders. It has reduced the value of corporate stock to levels where its yield—after the damage done to that yield by the tax—is comparable with the yield of noncorporate investments which are not hit by the tax. In this fashion the capital market has adjusted to its impact.

The tax has necessitated yet another adjustment. The withdrawal from productive uses, of vast amounts of profits which would have become capital, has hampered economic productivity and kept output at lower levels than would otherwise have been attained. And the federal government simply *consumed* most of this capital. Its economic demands then caused numerous enterprises to commence production for government consumption. Both of these

factors, loss of business capital and greater total consumption, caused consumer prices to rise. Furthermore the confiscatory tax rates reduced the incentive for efficient production and encouraged wasteful practices. In many cases even the capitalists decided to consume part of their capital rather than employ it in profitless production. All of this explains why many economists maintain that high taxes are "inflationary." Although they do not inflate the supply of money, they do reduce its purchasing power through their restrictive effects on production.

The government consumption of business capital is even greater than the tax rates indicate. Our interventionist age is one of chronic inflation. Year after year the dollar is losing some three percent or more of its purchasing power. Along with the prices of consumer goods, the costs of business machinery and equipment also are continuously rising. But the government arbitrarily refuses to recognize these rising costs of replacement as business expense. It refuses to allow business to charge off as depreciation any part of the excess of replacement costs over the original costs of equipment. It thus forces business to show as profits what are not profits at all, and to overstate its real earnings by these huge amounts. The government thus taxes as income what are actually expenses, even to the extent of levying income taxes on demonstrable losses.

Let us assume that a corporation employs capital goods of which the original cost was one million dollars. Inflation then reduces the dollar to fifty cents, and accordingly doubles the replacement costs. When the equipment is worn out through use the corporation

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obviously needs two million dollars to reestablish its old capacity. Our tax authorities, however, have been willing to allow only one million dollars of depreciation as business expense. If the corporation has earned the second million needed for the restitution of its equipment, the government has claimed more than half of that amount—as taxes on profits. It treats gross revenue that merely covers replacement costs as taxable income, and thus consumes more business capital.

If our corporation has "earned" merely \$1,500,000 during the period when its equipment was wearing out, the government has even levied income taxes on losses. Because of inflation the corporation obviously lacks the necessary money for the replacement of its machinery. At the inflationary prices it can afford restitution of only seventy-five percent of its former capacity. Our corporation has suffered a real loss. The tax authorities, however, have found a "profit" of half a million dollars, and have confiscated about one-half of that amount. The net loss of the corporation has thus been increased to \$750,000, or some 37.5 percent of its equipment. The government, taxing a loss as a "profit," simply consumed some of the enterprise.

Some tax experts have estimated that this arbitrary treatment of depreciation expenses as business profits has caused an overpayment of business taxes amounting to several billion dollars annually. According to other estimates, the present tax rates, together with this customary large overstatement of business earnings, have allowed the federal government to absorb most business profits and to prevent any true accumulation by business of additional capital.

This means that the growth of the American economy either already has, or soon must, come to a grinding halt—no matter what the politicians and government officials continue to promise us in glowing speeches and forecasts.

[There is one important aspect of this problem on which Dr. Sennholz does not touch. We have one friend, an outstanding American industrialist, who contends that—for the reasons given above—a huge percentage of the dividends distributed by American corporations over recent years have been paid out improperly and illegally. They have not come out of true profits, but out of depreciation expense money. The fact that the government, in order to get its own illegal take, classifies depreciation expense as profits, is no excuse for the corporation boards of directors to accept so fraudulent a classification as a basis for their own voluntary actions, and to pay out as profits money which they have not really earned at all. His point is that everybody knows the federal government is dishonest; that it behooves American business to maintain its own code of ethics and of sound fiscal policies; but that the federal government, through its tax on undistributed "profits," is actually forcing American business to be as dishonest and improvident as itself. Editor]

Every patriotic American cannot help but be concerned about the present trend of taxation. It is ushering in government omnipotence, socialism, and economic stagnation. Even higher taxes, more inflation, and more government controls seem to be in store for us. We must bend every effort to reverse this ominous trend. The corporation income tax should be summarily abolished. It is an unfair double tax, a gateway for

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government tyranny, and a vicious method of economic destruction. It must be abolished against the vehement opposition of all socialists and pseudo-liberals who contend that the government cannot operate without it. They are right—if multibillion dollar hand-outs to foreign socialist governments are more important than corporate profits, if six and one-half billion dollars of federal purchases of cotton, grain and peanuts are more essential than capital accumulation, if one hun-

dred-odd federal aid programs to states are more essential than economic growth, if the employment of 2,250,000 civilians on the federal payroll is more beneficial than industrial production. In short, the spenders are right if government regimentation is more to our liking than individual freedom, and socialism more desirable than individual enterprise. They are wrong, however, if our American way of life is to be preserved.

Nasser In South America

Those rightwing diehards of misplaced optimism, whose wishful thinking still identifies Nasser as primarily an Arab nationalist, have made themselves almost as immune to facts as an Ivy-League liberal. On their scales a few ounces of pretense on Nasser's part, that he is opposing or suppressing Communists, is allowed to outweigh all the tons of his palpable subservience to Moscow's orders. When we point out that, as a result of the Nasser-inspired bloody *coup* in Iraq, known Communists are now completely in control of the government in Baghdad, these American partisans of Nasser say that we simply don't understand. When we point out that Nasser's influence has made the *leading* Communist in Lebanon prime minister of that country, again they say that we do not understand.

They are right. But what we most do not understand is how to get these good friends of ours to look objectively at Nasser and his actions. For to us the record seems clear that Gamal Abdel Nasser is the Kremlin's white-haired boy, assigned to one important role: namely, to create, utilize, and develop a greatly increased hatred of the leading

Western powers, and especially the United States, as "imperialists." This line, invented by the Communists more than thirty-five years ago, used by them with great effectiveness in eastern Asia ever since, and constantly improved through experience, needed some new voice and a successful new hero of the "oppressed" peoples, to spread its poison in western Asia, Africa, and all "underdeveloped" countries. It is entirely a Moscow gospel, and Nasser is its newest prophet.

It is with a feeling of futility, therefore, that we call the attention of Nasser's persistent supporters among the anti-Communists in the United States to just one more item of evidence. Radio Arab World has now opened its microphones for business in Santiago, Chile. Broadcasts in Spanish, to Chile and other South American countries, have already begun. Their theme song is: "March with Nasser against imperialism." And you can be sure that the least imperialistic nation in the whole world, according to these broadcasts, will always be Soviet Russia, while the most imperialistic will be "the colossus of the North."

IF YOU WANT IT STRAIGHT . . .

Venezuela — And Cuba

On June 20, 1958, Admiral Wolfgang Larrazábal, Provisional President of Venezuela, told a press conference: "Communism is not a threat to Venezuela, because Venezuelan Communism is different than Communism elsewhere in the world. And I don't believe that they receive instructions from Moscow."

Twenty years ago, when the very core of Mao Tse-tung's guerilla forces were Moscow-trained revolutionaries supplied him by the Kremlin, we were told that the Chinese Communists were different from other Communists, and did not receive instructions from Moscow. But the gullibility of non-Communists in believing this lying propaganda is surpassed by the brazenness with which the Communists and their allies repeat it. For at the very moment Admiral Larrazábal was making the above statement, and as he well knew, at least ten of the Venezuelan Communist leaders were in Moscow getting their instructions. Among them was the most powerful Communist in Venezuela, the labor union leader, Jesus Faría — who had received extensive training in Moscow in 1948-49.

In fact it would be our guess that Admiral Larrazábal takes his own orders from Jesus Faría, almost as subserviently as Faría takes his from the Kremlin. For Faría now has the decisive power in Venezuela, as he proved conclusively with his two-day general strike on September 8 and 9. And the tens of thousands of workers, plus the huge number of newspapers, radio stations, and intellectual groups which he controls, make our State Department's report, that the attacks on Vice-President Nixon in Venezuela were organized by "a tiny minority," about as ridiculous as most of the other solemn half truths and distortions which pour out of "State" today.

Nor is it any cause for real encouragement that Larrazábal, after openly welcoming Communist support, was defeated for

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the presidency in the elections of December 7, 1958. The most "conservative" of the three candidates was Dr. Rafael Caldera, of the Centrist Christian *Socialist* Party. The man elected was former President Romulo Betancourt, of the extreme-leftist Democratic Action Party, who has been a favorite of the left-wing labour groups since 1945. And no matter who had been elected, the increasing power of Faria would have been little affected.

But we have coming in an early issue a survey, by Dr. J. B. Matthews, of the contemporary state of affairs in South America. So our purpose here is simply to point out that the same pattern of *de facto* control of a country by Communists, *through a labor dictatorship*, which is already an accomplished fact in Bolivia, is on the program for many other countries in the Western Hemisphere. And one important country in the Western Hemisphere which we do have in mind is our own.

Also, it is worth mentioning here that Venezuela is already the major base of operations, propaganda, and supply for the Cuban Communists; and that by the time their leader, Fidel Castro, is successful in establishing his rule in Cuba, the triangle consisting of Mexico, Cuba, and Venezuela will all be solidly enough Communist to form a very important part of the circle of containment being forged around the United States. All of which makes the attitude of our government with regard to the situation in Cuba even more significant. For, while we are giving guns and ammunition to the Communist Sukarno, in Indonesia, in order to enable him to put down anti-Communist revolts, we are refusing even to allow guns and ammunition to be sold to Batista in Cuba, to help him to suppress the murderous and destructive Communist rebellion led by Fidel Castro. Our government even confiscated a million dollars worth of such badly needed arms which Batista had purchased. We are treating Batista now exactly as we treated Chiang Kai-shek in the 1945-50 period; and favoring the Communist Fidel Castro now exactly as we favored the Communist Mao Tse-tung then. But this time it is all getting much closer home.

If You Want It Straight . . .

Ghana, Guinea, and De Gaulle

When Secretary Dulles made his official call on Premier de Gaulle, the afternoon of December 15 last, the diplomatic amenities seem to have taken second place to some very frank conversation. The interview consisted primarily of sharp questions by de Gaulle and evasive answers by his weary visitor.

One thing over which de Gaulle was quite properly disturbed was the development of the Ghana-Guinea combination in western Africa. For the visible purpose of the "Gold Coast twins," Kwame Nkrumah and Sékou Touré, is the subversion of the other African states that voted in the de Gaulle referendum to remain within the French Union. Agitation by their agents is already producing unrest, even in formerly so loyal a pro-French area as the Ivory Coast. No realist could doubt for a minute that the Ghana-Guinea alliance is intended, with Moscow's blessing, to serve as a beachhead for the creation of political anarchy in a vast area, and eventually as a nucleus of Communist influence and control in central Africa.

And the appearance of American blessing for these same plans not only has bothered de Gaulle, but should have bothered Dulles and any American patriot. It is true that the biggest help being given Messrs. Nkrumah and Touré from American sources is the on-the-spot guidance and support of Mr. Irving Brown. And Brown has no official portfolio from the American government. He is, the reader will remember, the long-time roving Ambassador-at-large, to the left-wing unions and other trouble-makers of Europe and now Africa, from His Majesty Walter Reuther. But it is hard to see how Brown could be in Accra, meddling in the international schemes of these two ambitious Marxist rulers, if our State Department really objected.

Although Queen Elizabeth II of England is, in theory, also still Queen of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah has already thrown overboard the constitution and all of the safeguards which the British drew up for his people. Having made himself a Dictator, but still not having the army he has been demanding, and not

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yet quite daring to ride roughshod over the objections in his way, he is circumventing those objections by helping Touré to provide an army for them both. Touré is organizing that army on the framework of non-commissioned officers who had been trained in Guinea by the French. Communist Czechoslovakia is providing the officers. The Czechs are likewise supplying the technicians and engineers. Communist-instigated trouble in the bulge of Africa is really getting under way, and the French will have to bear the brunt of all the early campaigns.

One specific question that de Gaulle asked Dulles was whether it would not have been proper for the United States, as an ally of France, to wait and see how honorably Sékou Touré acquitted himself in winding up the odds and ends of his final obligations to France, before the United States hurried so to support Guinea's application for membership in the United Nations. He felt that a consultation, at least, would have been in order.

But de Gaulle's questions ranged over a lot of ground besides the terrain in West Africa. Dulles, it appears, had come prepared and disposed to discuss nothing but Berlin. De Gaulle's stand was that there was nothing about Berlin to discuss. There could be only one course of action: stick together and keep the route to Berlin open, even if it meant a cavalcade of tanks. But having stated his solidarity with us (or with our supposed position) with regard to Berlin, de Gaulle then asked bluntly whether we were allies or not. If so, he wanted to know why we abstained from voting on the Algerian question in the United Nations; and whether America's abstention, and perhaps even American lobbying, was responsible for the thirty-some other abstentions.

De Gaulle asked why the American UN delegation members attended a party given in New York by the Tunisians for representatives of the Algerian (Communist-dominated) FLN. He pointed out that this served to discourage the mass of Algerians, right at the time when his own concessions were bringing the majority into open support of a settlement, and to

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encourage the small but well-armed, well-directed minority which was terrorizing them. He also wanted to know how it was that FLN agents and propagandists obtained American visas with no apparent difficulty; while French businessmen who wanted to visit the United States were obliged, literally, to swear on the Bible that they were not going to engage in any political activity, were made to answer a lot of other questions that would certainly seem to be stumbling blocks for the FLN Algerians, and even then had to wait weeks or months for a clearance.

One would suspect, from the tenor of the questions and of the whole interview, a rather startling discovery by Monsieur de Gaulle: That the American State Department is not always playing on the anti-Communist team. It would be quite helpful if a lot of other heads of state around the globe woke up to the same thing. And if Mr. Dulles himself would make that belated discovery it would be more helpful yet.

And Boris Pasternak

We must remind our readers once more that the Communists have now gone about two-thirds of the way towards their goal of ruling the world. One reason for this success has been the unceasing readiness of non-Communists and even anti-Communists (always nudged along and guided by secret Communists, of course) to accept at face value whatever carefully concocted story the inveterate liars of the Kremlin's propaganda machine might offer to the world. The current ballyhoo over Boris Pasternak and his novel, *Doctor Zhivago*, is just one more painful illustration of a fact we cannot refrain from printing again and again: That the fundamentally decent American mind simply will not grasp the kind of enemy with which it has to deal.

The Communists do not wait for opportunities. They create their own. Since they can make progress by knowing exactly where they want to go in the midst of strife and argument, turmoil and bitterness which confuses their enemies, they

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bring about such conditions deliberately — at whatever cost to themselves may be required. Since they fish best and most profitably in muddy waters, they have no slightest hesitation about plunging into any dark stream, and getting themselves as dirty as may be necessary, in order to stir up the muddy mess that suits their needs. But the gullible Americanist then says: "Gee, the Communists could not intentionally have had anything to do with that commotion, and must have hated it. For look at all of the mud it splattered on them. So we can accept this dark swirling condition as a natural phenomenon, and believe the conclusions which we draw from studying it." Those conclusions, of course, are exactly the ones the Communists wanted to have drawn when they planned the whole affair.

Boris Pasternak is a Soviet citizen who has made his living for decades as a writer. It seems that some thirty years ago he was briefly and indecisively chided for having produced something which showed an "unsociable" attitude. Since then, it is clear, he has been willing to trim his philosophical sails at all times to catch enough favorable wind from the Kremlin to keep him in the writing profession. Now he has turned out a novel, *Doctor Zhivago*, which "portrays the poignant drama of the Soviet individual pitted against the nightmare world of Marxism." It was published abroad, but not in Russia. For this novel he was awarded the 1958 Nobel Prize in literature.

The Kremlin refused to allow Pasternak to accept the prize, supposedly because such acceptance would make inevitable the publication of this subversive book within Russia itself. But the world-wide publicity thus given Doctor Zhivago, with the help of the liberal press, caused its readership and sales to soar everywhere. In the United States, in the month of November 1958, alone, 160,000 copies were sold. The publishers announced an additional advertising appropriation of twenty-five thousand dollars, and boasted that further sales were limited only by the speed with which the printers and binders could produce more copies. Pasternak's courage is praised to the skies in the editorial

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pages of metropolitan dailies, whose book-review sections glow with enthusiasm for the literary greatness of his work. And the Kremlin, supposedly horrified and helpless, sees all of this tremendous damage done to the Communist cause throughout the world, by one of its own rebellious subjects who dared to speak out against its crimes. Do tell!

But at any rate that's the "pitch." And are the suckers falling for it! The formula at work here is almost identical with the one used in connection with *The New Class* by Milovan Djilas. But since a novel has a much wider appeal than any essay on sociology — no matter how cleverly the essay is promoted by all of the cloak-and-dagger atmosphere blown up around it — *Doctor Zhivago* is expected to have its impact on the literate millions. *The New Class*, on the other hand, was aimed primarily at heavy thinkers, like those who read *Harper's Magazine*, *The Reporter*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, and Walter Lippmann. The ideological objective in both cases seems to be roughly the same. Before examining what the Communists are trying to accomplish, however, let's look briefly at the insulting absurdity of the play-acting we are expected to accept as reality.

In the first place, as every realist knows, the present tremendous sale of *Doctor Zhivago* in the United States would be utterly impossible if the Kremlin, and its allies and dupes in this country, didn't actually *want* the book to sell. Few novels of our generation have so stirred the interest and admiration of its readers as has *The Pentagon Case*. And, as Dr. Daniel Poling says, "it has all the suspense elements of a topflight detective story." But the stranglehold of Communist influences on our book-reviewing and book-distributing channels is so strong and complete that *The Pentagon Case* has had to depend almost entirely on the mail-order purchase, by patriotic readers, of multiple copies for distribution to their friends. The total sales, a year after publication, have run to only a few tens of thousands of copies; and the large book-reviewing media have seen to it that almost none of those sales were through regular bookstore

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channels.

Taylor Caldwell had proved herself — before the Communists set out to destroy her — to be one of the most popular novelists America has ever produced. Her books sold in the millions. But if Taylor Caldwell today should write a novel combining all of the appeal, and with none of the defects, of *Gone With The Wind*, *In His Steps*, *Les Miserables*, and *Vanity Fair* — and if that book honestly and clearly opposed the current Communist line and purposes — it wouldn't sell fifty thousand copies. Although there is no slightest doubt that Ayn Rand's *Atlas Shrugged* is a greater and more lasting work than *Doctor Zhivago*, we would be surprised to learn that Ayn Rand's book had sold forty thousand copies in two years. Yet *Doctor Zhivago* sold four times that amount in one month! The thing speaks for itself — or would, if Americans, even of the right wing, would stop being so soft in the head about this whole conspiracy.

In the second place, has everybody forgotten that, at least since 1950, the three Nobel Prize committees have become practically indistinguishable from Soviet propaganda agencies? Or that, while probably few of the recipients of Nobel Prizes have been Communists, almost nobody has received a Nobel Prize of late years whose words or work — whether intentionally or otherwise — had not in some way supported the Communist line or served Communist purposes? Or that Dag Hammarskjöld is a member of the Swedish Academy which acts as the Nobel Prize Committee for literature, and was known to have been consulted with regard to the 1958 award? Any thought that this committee would give any prize to anybody over the known or expected opposition of the Kremlin is naive beyond reason. That it would award such a prize for literature, to a Soviet citizen living in Russia, without the Kremlin's approval, is as likely as that the United Nations would come out in support of free enterprise.

And in the third place, the Kremlin's refusal to allow *Doctor Zhivago* to be published in Russia is so tinselled and con-

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spicuous a piece of bait offered to critics of the Soviets that any alert critic ought to be suspicious at once. Has everybody forgotten how the Kremlin really handles such matters? Even when Stalin was winning his struggle against Trotsky for supreme power in Russia, through the very fact that Stalin was in complete charge of all the media of mass communication, he did not refuse to allow anything by, or favorable to, Trotsky to be published. Oh no. He merely saw to it that tens or hundreds of thousands of any pamphlet condemning Trotsky were made available all over Russia, while similar pamphlets praising Trotsky were held to a printing and a circulation of only a few thousand — on the ground that there was no larger demand for them. This is a pattern now well and long established in Communist procedures and pro-Communist practices, and by imitators thereof everywhere (including the Fund For The Republic in our own country).

It would have been very easy for the Kremlin, and of considerable advantage, to have made quite a grandstand play of letting Pasternak receive his Nobel Prize, and of then letting his book be "published" in Russia, to show its tolerance of criticism — while taking pains to ensure that the number of copies made available didn't reach far enough for the criticism to do any harm. But this would probably have allowed Doctor Zhivago to die in the rest of the world at the same sputtering sales level as whatever Bertrand Russell got the prize for in 1950 or Ernest Hemingway in 1954. And the Soviet bosses had more important propaganda fish to fry.

The easiest way to identify one of the fish is to recall a story which was quite prevalent in the corridors of American sales conventions a generation ago. The salesman in this story found, or imagined, that with certain customers he could ingratiate himself, and make his sales "pitch" more convincing, by telling the customer what a louse the salesman's "big boss" was, back at the home office. But being afraid that some word of this crit-

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What Would *You* Ask Soustelle?

The hatchet job being done on Jacques Soustelle by the American liberal press it not without good reason from the liberals' point of view. When they get within five thousand miles of an able and determined anti-Communist, they can smell an enemy. In fact, it is their game and their goal to discredit such a man if possible before the conservatives even identify him as a friend.

In the case of Soustelle we have the normal and expected results of such a one-sided development. Since the conservative press doesn't bother to support him, the outpourings of the liberal publications — such as the anti-Soustelle article in *Look Magazine* a couple of months ago, for illustration—are assumed in Europe to be the voice of the American people. When Washington allows it to be tacitly understood that this is the voice of our government as well, Europeans draw some definite, and in some quarters angry, conclusions.

A few weeks ago a well-informed American, visiting in the office of an important ministry of the French government, was asked point blank: "What would American reaction be if Soustelle had been made Premier, or if tomorrow he were to become Minister of Foreign Affairs?" The American could not give an honest answer. He could not conscientiously assure his questioner that our government would refrain from trying to tell our ally, France, whom it should have—or should not have — in so important a position. Nor could he be certain that our government would not at least *appear* to have the backing of the American people in objecting to Soustelle as Premier of France.

Yet the probable reaction, which this American could not deny, has calamitous significance. In the first place there is strong evidence of a majority of the French people having already made up their minds that Jacques Soustelle is their coming leader. If de Gaulle's efforts to give France a new era of internal

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solidity, and to make of this revitalized France an important bulwark against the Communist takeover of Western Europe — if these efforts are to be strengthened and continued, then it seems clear that Soustelle must become his right-hand man and likely successor. And there is justified resentment, on the part of the most solidly conservative elements in France, that a man they want might be passed over for no other reason than that Americans don't like him.

In the second place, to the extent that there is any dislike of Soustelle in America, except by the Leftists, it is due to a complete lack of knowledge of his real record, views, and purposes. Anybody who gets his understanding of the events and personalities of contemporary history from reading *Look* and *Life* certainly cannot be blamed for coming up with some absurd views: as that Stalin's hatchet man, Tito, became an enemy of the Kremlin and a valuable ally of the West; that the murderous Communist, Fidel Castro, now trying to tear Cuba apart, is a modern Robin Hood; or that the anti-Communist statesman, Jacques Soustelle, is a dangerous demagogue.

We should like to offset that last piece of biased interpretation to the best of our ability. And the most effective way, we believe, for us to do so, is not only to let Mr. Soustelle speak for himself; but to let him speak on exactly those questions which our readers consider relevant and important. So:

Send us the questions that you would like to ask of Jacques Soustelle—if you were having an interview with this highly "controversial" statesman, who seems to be well on the way to becoming one of Europe's most important figures. We cannot enter into any correspondence about those questions. But we'll compile them, forward them, and get you the answers. We are assured that we shall have those answers in due course, for publication in this magazine over Soustelle's own signature. Your help, in making this composite interview significant, informative, and revealing, will be welcome and appreciated. Send your questions, for Mr. Jacques Soustelle, to: AMERICAN OPINION, Belmont 78, Massachusetts.

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icism would get to the boss, the salesman went in himself and explained what he was doing and why. This boss had as little regard for decency, or his own honor, as do the Communists today. "Look, John," he reassured the salesman, "if calling me names will help you to get the order, you call me every kind of SOB you can think of. Never mind my feelings or reputation. Your job is to sell the goods."

The "goods" which the Kremlin is so terribly anxious to sell the world, and especially the American people, today, is that socialism itself is both inevitable and wonderful; and that the only thing wrong with socialism is the kind of bosses who are running it in some countries. The Kremlin doesn't care how revoltingly Pasternak pictures the brutalities of the Bolsheviks in the years immediately following the Revolution in 1917. That, they expect you to understand, was a necessity of the movement. ("You can't make an omelet without breaking eggs.") The Kremlin doesn't care how black Pasternak might paint the character of Joseph Stalin; it took the lead in this dialectic maneuver itself, at the 20th Communist Congress. Nor would the Kremlin care how convincingly Pasternak might revile the present Soviet bosses, if that revilement helped him to "get the order."

For Pasternak possesses no sticks and stones which can break their bones, but only words which cannot hurt them. And the present bosses will soon pass anyway. Even now the plans may be blueprinted as to every detail, even the timing, for a phoney but carefully stage-managed *coup* whereby Malenkov, Kaganovich, Molotov, and Shepilov displace Khrushchev and return to power. The current increase of invectives by Khrushchev against these "anti-party" stalwarts, and the renewed emphasis of his hostility to them, may itself be a part of the preparation for their ultimate return. For Malenkov and his associates would then publicize themselves as the really "good boys" of the Communist hierarchy, and would use the bitter and supposedly unfair hatred of themselves, by the murderous Khrushchev, as

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evidence of their own intentions having all along been in the opposite and more civilized direction. But in the meantime the socialist "firm" which they will come to manage will have advanced its "line" tremendously, through the efforts of such salesmen of the "let's-call-the-boss-names school" as Milovan Djilas and Boris Pasternak.

And if any reader thinks that Pasternak, while getting a huge audience and its favorably inclined attention by denouncing the cruelties of the transient lords of the Kremlin, is not selling the "line" of Marxism, allow us to offer just a few sample passages from Doctor Zhivago.

"'Of course,' one of his characters pontificates, 'it wasn't only in Moscow or in Russia that there existed these elegant Tverskaia Yamskaia Streets with young rakes in fancy hats and spats rushing about with their girls in cabs. That street, the night life of the street, the night life of the past century, and the race horses and the rakes, existed in every city in the world. But what gave unity to the nineteenth century, what set it apart as one historical period? It was the birth of socialist thought. Revolutions, young men dying on the barricades, writers racking their brains in an effort to curb the brute insolence of money, to save the human dignity of the poor. Marxism arose, it uncovered the root of the evil and it offered the remedy, it became the great force of the century.'"

" ' — all of this was absorbed and expressed in Lenin, who fell upon the old world as the personified retribution for its misdeeds.

"'And side by side with him there arose before the eyes of the world the vast figure of Russia bursting into flames like a light of redemption for all the sorrows and misfortunes of mankind.'"

It's true that Pasternak is willing to concede error in theory as well as crime in practice, in the course of his attempted conversion of a sordid conspiracy into the stuff of an epic saga. "I think," he puts into the mouth of the same character, speak-

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ing of the 1930's, "that collectivization was an erroneous and unsuccessful measure and it was impossible to admit the error. To conceal the failure people had to be cured, by every means of terrorism, of the habit of thinking and judging for themselves, and forced to see what didn't exist, to assert the very opposite of what their eyes told them. This accounts for the unexampled cruelty of the Yezhov period [1936-38]." But the glorious war wiped out all of that. ". . . the war came as a breath of fresh air, a purifying storm, a breath of deliverance." . . . "And when the war broke out, its real horrors, its real dangers, its menace of real death were a blessing compared with the inhuman reign of the lie, and they brought relief because they broke the spell of the dead letter.

"It was felt not only by men in your position, in concentration camps, but by absolutely everyone, at home and at the front, and they all took a deep breath and flung themselves into the furnace of this mortal, liberating struggle with real joy, with rapture."

And if there has ever been a more colossal falsehood than that last paragraph, as spoken by one of Pasternak's characters for him, anywhere in the pages of world literature, it has escaped this editor's fifty years of omnivorous reading. For those who do not remember that, despite Khrushchev's most emotional exhortations, the city of Kiev surrendered to the Germans without a shot; that Russian officers had to put pistols to the backs of Russian soldiers at Stalingrad to keep them fighting for Stalin's namesake city; that if Hitler had been willing to liberate the Russians from Stalin's rule, instead of re-enslaving them under his own, his eastern opposition would have completely collapsed; that as late as 1945, when Goering did finally have the sense to put the anti-Communist Russian, General Vlasow, in the field, the Russian soldiers advancing westward with victory in their grasp still went over to Vlasow in droves; for the readers of Doctor Zhivago who do not remember or never knew this history of a dozen years ago, Pasternak has quite a phoney bill of goods to sell, about the enthusiastic sup-

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port of the Russian people for the despotism that took them into war — a war which this despotism had largely contrived to bring about.

“The war has its special character as a link in the chain of revolutionary decades. The forces directly unleashed by the revolution no longer operated. The indirect effects of the revolution, the fruit of its fruit, the consequences of the consequences, began to manifest themselves. Misfortune and ordeals had tempered characters, prepared them for great, desperate, heroic exploits. These fabulous, astounding qualities characterize the moral elite of this generation’.”

Yes, indeed. The moral elite of the Communist regime can be very proud of such heroic exploits during the war as the brutal uprooting of 1,200,000 citizens of eastern Poland and shipping them off to Siberia; of the coldblooded murder of several thousand Polish officers at Katyn Wood, and the attempt to blame this crime on the Germans; of the betrayal into a futile death of the 250,000 members of Bor-Komorowski's Home Army in Warsaw, which was fighting as allies of the Kremlin; of the murder of the Polish patriots who liberated the city of Poznan from the German conquerors and turned it over to their “allies” under Khrushchev. Pasternak of course doesn't mention any of these things. He would have you believe that all the suffering caused by the Communist tyrants was experienced by the Russian people, and should now be regarded by them and by the world as something like labor pains, whereby Russia gave birth to the glorious ideal of socialism.

For while the nobility of Marxism as an ideal, and the justice of Leninism as a retribution on the capitalist establishment for its crimes, are both a part of Pasternak's “line,” he is even more concerned with showing the *importance*, to the contemporary world and in world history, of this Marxian storm. In fact, one of the Kremlin's primary purposes in so cleverly and effectively promoting *Doctor Zhivago* into a huge vogue has somehow found expression in one paragraph of the

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blurb about the book by its American publishers:

"Pasternak's superbly evocative style is equal to the grandeur of his theme. 'Storm' is the recurring key word of his book—the storm of war, of revolution, of human passions, of nature. With awe and terror he recreates history's most titanic effort to bring forth a new world from a deliberately created chaos." *Those are pretty fancy phrases with which to describe the actions and purposes of a bunch of power-drunk criminal gangsters who want to ride herd on the rest of us. And they are exactly the phrases with which these gangsters want to have their cruel conspiracy described.*

Pasternak also mouthes a lot of "religion." It all seems to us a bit vague, unexpected, unconvincing, and dragged in by the hair. But maybe in this connection we are prejudiced instead of reasonably objective. There is enough lip service and great-depths-of-the-soul service to Christianity to enable the *London Times* to say that the one word to describe the book is "religious"; to impress the reader that Christianity is no lost cause in a Communist world; and even, perhaps, to supply the World Council of Churches an argument for taking some of the Kremlin's clerical stooges into its upper circles.

Maybe the above results, too, were all by design. Or maybe they were just incidental to expressions of entirely honest religious outlook. We don't know. For it seems to us that the chief propaganda goal of the Kremlin, in its clever exploitation of Pasternak's slavepiece, is more direct and obvious than anything we have mentioned so far. It follows the thought of the American politician who says: "I don't care what they say about me as long as they talk about me enough."

It is a visible aim of the Kremlin today to keep Russia and Russia-based Communism ever more prominently in the limelight and ever more emphatically in the forefront of men's minds. (And even those of us fighting the Communists in every way we know cannot avoid promoting that purpose for them.) Their reverse-English drive behind Pasternak's Doctor Zhivago

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serves that aim magnificently: by having a book written by a Russian Communist, about the Communist revolutionary storm, become a huge best seller in the United States; by making more hundreds of thousands of Americans talk about and think about this storm as the most "titanic" event in modern history; by bringing the whole question of the present "culture" and "morals" and "ideals" and "grandeur" of the Communist fatherland and of the Communist-socialist "dream" into the reluctant consciousness of those "provincial" Americans; by making literate Americans aware of a Russian Communist novelist who presumably knows more about Shakespeare than a Harvard professor; by bringing those same Americans to realize that whether the Kremlin (supposedly) likes it or not, the Russian genius under Communism is producing novels to match its Sputniks; and by producing those same effects in varying degrees, everywhere else, that we have specified here particularly for the United States. Those specifics would seem to constitute together the main objective, based on the fundamental psychology of politics that attracting enough attention spells success.

Finally, since the Soviets always look to squeeze every last drop of benefit that they can out of whatever sacrifice play they make, there is one other plus to this operation, and a significant one from their point of view. For the loudest noise directed at Pasternak by the spokesmen of the Kremlin, while calling him all kinds of names, has been made up of sneers urging him to leave Russia for "the fascinations of the capitalist paradise." This is highly ludicrous in the brazen mendacity of its implications, for if there is one word in the 559 pages of *Doctor Zhivago* showing any favorable attitude of Pasternak for capitalism or capitalistic countries we couldn't find it.

Since the Nobel Prize was offered Pasternak these excoriations of him have made headlines. And equally loud have been the pronouncements of the Kremlin's spokesmen that Pasternak was free to leave Russia at any time. But Mr. Pasternak has ostentatiously and just as noisily begged Khrushchev not to make him leave his wonderful Soviet Russia. He has shouted for

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all the world to hear that he had rather continue to live in Soviet Russia, even when regarded as an enemy by the Kremlin bosses, than to live as a rich and honored recipient of a Nobel Prize in any capitalist country. So who says the Soviet homeland is not now a beloved paradise for everybody? Just look at Pasternak! And even some of the very smartest of our analysts of Communist maneuvers, taken off guard, fall for that shell game as if they were "born yesterday."

For forty years the Communists have run the most daring and successful bluff in history. From the very beginning they have proceeded on the assumption that if you can make enough people think you are winning a particular battle, or the whole war, then you are winning. To that end they use every psychological trick that has ever been discovered by scientist or charlatan, and have invented quite a few themselves. Boris Pasternak and his Doctor Zhivago, and all the acclaim for both which has been won in America and the rest of the free world, are part of the design to make non-Communists open their eyes still wider at the Communist pretenses of greatness and success — and to blink with increasing wonder as to whether after all these pretenses may not be true. The whole episode is another clever psychological trick of the Kremlin's propaganda machine, but it seems that "the West" will never learn.

And at Home

This is just to remind you that, with new appropriations and unexpended balances, our federal government has \$147 billion dollars available to spend during the current fiscal year. Also, that this includes huge gifts to Gomulka of Poland, Sukarno of Indonesia, Nehru of India, Tito of Yugoslavia and other assorted agents of the Kremlin. And that, in the taxing and spending at ever more fantastic levels, in order to wreck our currency and put our economy in a bureaucratic straight-jacket, as well as in the ever more brazen support of Communists by our government, you have seen only the beginning. Nor is stupidity the ultimate cause. The word is treason.

WHAT'S RIGHT IN AMERICA?

by

WILLIS A. CARTO

The world's crazy lurch towards Marxist equalism has not impressed all men equally. An observer can easily count hundreds of groups of worried citizens who are hoping and trying in some fashion to stem the onrushing floodtide of international socialism. These groups are astonishingly varied. A few of them date back to pre-World War II days. But most are of fairly recent origin.

Being uniformly defensive in nature they can most easily be classified according to what they oppose rather than what they support. They are all anti-communist, anti-internationalist and anti-equalist. Because of this, many unthinking individuals brand them as "negative" or "reactionary" or "hate" groups — a procedure which is delightful to their many powerful enemies. Actually, however, no generalization could possibly be more inaccurate. By such a queer yardstick any defender is automatically wrong and any aggressor is automatically right.

These groups are teeming with ideas, plans and strategies. If any one complaint is heard more often than that they are "negative," it is that they can't seem to "get together"; that their efforts are wasted in divergent directions. And no wonder! The vast scope of aims and objectives which these groups do *not* have in common is surprising. Obviously, if they were all negative or "anti-," the difficulty in coordination which does exist would not. It is easy to unite in hatred.

Possibly this interpretation explains the comparative ease with which the leftist and Marxist groups do work together. The point is better understood when the fundamental secret of these groups is grasped: namely that they are — in spite of their deceptive protestations — primarily interested in *destruction*: the destruction of the existing social and political order. They

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are united in their savage hatred of it. The triumph of Marxism must involve the destruction of the existing order; and, because Marxism is unworkable (for a pragmatic society this is the most powerful indictment it must face) the whole movement is fundamentally negative and destructive. It is a prime axiom of Marxist propaganda to charge your enemies with the crimes and failures that you have committed, or which you intend to commit.

In the opinion of this writer there are six main groupings under which all "Rightist" groups may be classified. Few organizations, of course, confine themselves to one grouping alone. Most of them encompass two or three. The six main categories are: (1) Economic, (2) Eugenic, (3) Historic-cultural, (4) Instinctive, (5) Legalistic and (6) Religious. Below is a brief description of each, as well as the reason why it finds itself in opposition to Marxism.

1. The *Economic Classification* takes in Libertarians, Social Crediters, Georgists and others who, although they are economic determinists, are not equalists, and therefore are opposed to Marxism. Libertarians however, also oppose Marxism because of their strong belief in political freedom, to the edge of anarchy, and their hatred of the force that collectivistic governments must necessarily employ to gain their ends. Libertarians are valiant and effective warriors for the free market, the gold standard, free trade (the latter two strongly opposed by some other "Rightists"), and for government non-interference or even non-existence. A vast literature has been prepared by these groups and much credit must be given them for their influence on public opinion.

Social Crediters and Georgists are included here because of their equally strong reliance on economic theory. But they differ with Libertarians radically in that they would cheerfully use government force to apply their remedies. Their theories center about the Single Tax and various types of currency and fiscal reform designed to meet the supposedly unique problems presented by modern economic systems.

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2. The *Eugenic Classification* is in part the youngest and, because of present social pressures, apparently the fastest-growing of all today. It refers to the many groups concerned with the race question. These are opposed to Marxism because of its theoretical denial of human (individual and racial) inequality; and because of its flouting of the Mendelian laws of heredity. Far from this school of thought being neo-fascist, however, many of its leading proponents combine their social racialism with political libertarianism, claiming that only in a racially homogeneous society can freedom be possible. Dictatorship, they point out, has been defined since Aristotle as the natural result of attempts to force men into a common, lower mold. Dictatorship is necessary to enforce equality among men when there is no equality. God has made men and mere governments cannot remake them. Thus, such groups support States' Rights and oppose centralized power.

It must be noted as a warning that not all of these groups are religiously-inclined and that a few are outright freethinkers. Most of them, however, justify their philosophy not by Mendel and Darwin but by the Bible. Under this heading may be subclassified the Fundamentalists and the Anglo-Israelite groups. The former believe simply that God separated the three sons of Noah, who then began the three races of Man. The latter school is of the conviction that Anglo-Saxons (though many have now broadened their belief to include continental Teutonics as well) are descended from the ten lost tribes of Israel and are in reality God's Chosen People. All religiously-inclined groups are opposed to Marxism, of course, because of its denial of their tenets and because of its atheism.

3. The *Historic-cultural Classification* takes in all conservatives. These are the traditionalists, who wish above all to save their heritage. Nothing is more important to them than the rich bequest of the past and this they mean to preserve. Orderly change within the framework of established institutions is their ideal. Next to God, stability is their deity. And of course their hatred of Marxism arises from their determination

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to combat all revolutionary and alien philosophies. Stability and order they believe to be the prime essentials of the good life. Although by their nature conservatives must forever fight a defensive battle they are and have been of great effectiveness in slowing down the march of Marx.

4. The *Instinctive Classification* is the name which may be given to persons who "feel" that something is wrong. They may not have a clearly-thought out philosophy, but their healthy instincts tell them to fight against the revolution they sense. All people are basically conservative in nature and resist change. When this change clearly results in the destruction of the precious things of life and the inauguration of other things which are obviously unhealthy, the natural impulse is to resist. Persons of this group, who act primarily from instinct, tend to seize on any fact or presumed fact to buttress their position. Although their forensic position may not be at all times secure, actually they represent the basic matrix of society. Here, we have the true "voice of the people." And there is some of this category in all the others.

5. The *Legalistic Classification* refers mainly to a frame of mind which asserts itself when plans are set forth to deal with current dangers. Legalists are convinced that good law is the answer to our problem, not courts or economics or men. These groups are, of course, strict constructionists of the Constitution. They feel that with correct interpretation and enforcement of that great document most present political crises would vanish. Legalists have been especially effective in criticising the prevalent perversions of law, as handed down by the Supreme Court in recent decisions; and in thereby mobilizing opposition to these perversions by supplying valid legal arguments. Legalists propose numerous Constitutional Amendments to strengthen our defenses against the present social and judicial revolution.

6. Sixth and last is the *Religious Classification*. To catalog these groups, of all denominations and confessions, would be a very big job. They all have a basic antipathy towards Marxism because of its atheism. But they are effective anti-Marxists only

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if their disagreement with atheism is deep and earnest. For the creed of a great many so-called "Christian" churches and prominent churchmen can only be described as communistic, with the impertinence added of their daring to invoke Divine blessing for the apostasy. Such churches and churchmen may proclaim their "anti-Communism" if they wish, but they could never be designated as "Rightist"; in fact they would no doubt be insulted if they were.

The publishers in San Francisco of the *Directory Of "Rightist" Groups* say: "These groups are important because they represent ten million militant but disunited idealists who are determined to combat and destroy the subversive twins, Marxist liberalism and internationalism." So far, all attempts to unite the various clusters organizationally, in their opposition to Communism, have met with failure. But the potential strength is there; it seems to be increasing; and it is of considerable significance in the fight to restore freedom, social health, and national sovereignty to our country.

We Pause To Remark

There is a quip now going the rounds that "things would not be so bad in Washington if Eisenhower had lived." We cannot give it our approval, for either taste or humor or accuracy. For not only is the President very much alive and putting, but on December 8, 1958 he became the oldest man ever to serve as the nation's chief executive. At the age of sixty-eight years, seven weeks, and six days, he was one day older than William Henry Harrison when that President died in office on April 4, 1841.

* * *

In our mail any morning we are likely to find anything — from perfume to profanity. One recent letter from Missouri contained a quotation from something written by the poet, Heine, more than a hundred years ago. It read: "I confess frankly that Communism, which is so inimical to all my interests and inclinations, yet exerts a magic influence over my soul . . . Two voices move me in its favor, two voices which will not be silenced, and which in their essence may be quite diabolical. The first is logic . . . and the second . . . is hate." We don't know what happened to the logic, but the feeling of hatred is still foremost among the motivations of the Communists.

BULLETS

There is nothing so powerful as
truth—and often nothing so strange.

Daniel Webster

* * *

It would seem that the next war is
to be fought over disarmament.

Australasian Manufacturer

* * *

In the purchase of a home, the wife
usually makes the final decision, says
a psychologist. If you give them enough
time and enough books, psychologists
eventually learn a lot of things that the
rest of us have known all along.

Another Joe Sullivan Steal

* * *

'Tis strange what a man may do, and
a woman yet think him an angel.

Thackeray

* * *

A fool must now and then be right
by chance.

Cowper

* * *

One murder made a villain, millions
a hero.

Beilby Porteus

* * *

I've just had a long conversation with
two live Communists. I find that of all
the millions of Communists the worst
ones are the live ones.

Edward Scott

* * *

Perish with him the folly that seeks
through evil good.

Whittier (On John Brown)

* * *

If the nose of Cleopatra had been
shorter, the whole face of the earth
would have been changed.

Pascal

It's lucky I spent Rud's bonus in ad-
vance this year. He didn't get one.

Ruth Gallatin

* * *

On one occasion some one put a very
little wine into a wine-cooler, and said
that it was sixteen years old. "It is very
small for its age," said Gnathaena.

Athenaeus

* * *

A lie which is half a truth is ever the
blackest of lies.

Tennyson

* * *

Anyone who thinks conversation is a
lost art in America doesn't play bridge.

Franklin P. Jones

* * *

A closed mouth catches no flies.

Cervantes

* * *

How can life on Mars be possible,
when it's so darn near impossible here?

Florence Bulletin

* * *

Night clubs are popular because they
are the only places still open by the time
your wife gets dressed.

Arnold H. Glasow

* * *

How came he to have so much leisure
as to die, when there was so much stir-
ring?

Epaminondas

* * *

Some shall reap that never sow
And some shall toil and not attain.

Madison Cawein

* * *

... now learn too late
How few sometimes may know when
thousands err.

Milton

A Review Of The News

by

HUBERT KREGELOH

In November, 1958 . . .

→ The "off-year" elections produced an overwhelming Democratic victory for congressional and gubernatorial candidates. In both houses of Congress the Democrats piled up majorities approaching two-thirds, and captured nearly three-fourths of the State governorships. The experts differed regarding the reasons, but agreed there was no clear pattern. "Modern" as well as conservative Republicans bit the political dust. Liberal "Republican" Nelson Rockefeller was elected Governor of New York, but in Arizona Barry Goldwater, an outstanding conservative, was impressively re-elected. One of the most significant defeats was suffered by Senator William F. Knowland, who had sought the governorship of California. Shortly after the election, the irrepressible Harold Stassen renewed his political assassination attempt against Richard Nixon by pointedly refusing to include him in Presidential possibilities he mentioned to reporters.

→ The 4½-carat Hope Diamond, the world's largest blue diamond, was donated to the Smithsonian Institute by New York gem dealer Harry Winton. The diamond, insured by Winton for one million dollars, has been associated by superstition with disasters for the various owners since it was reportedly torn from a Hindu idol in India in the seventeenth century.

→ Although the United States halted

all nuclear tests on October 31, and although another conference with the Soviets on nuclear control was being held in Geneva, Switzerland, Washington obtained evidence of continuing Soviet tests.

→ John XXIII was crowned the 262nd Pope. He moved quickly to increase the critically depleted College of Cardinals and appointed twenty-three new cardinals — including two Americans. These were Archbishop Richard James Cushing of Boston and Archbishop John O'Hara of Philadelphia.

→ Nikita Khrushchev promised the Soviet peoples they would enjoy the world's highest living standards by 1970.

→ In elections for the French National Assembly the parties backing Premier General Charles de Gaulle won overwhelmingly. The Communists (who for many years represented the largest Communist party in Europe outside of Russia) went down to crushing defeat.

→ Vice-President and Mrs. Nixon paid a four-day visit to Britain. Mr. Nixon conducted himself so effectively that even the reluctant Laborites admitted they were favorably impressed.

→ The Defense Department announced that an Air Force-developed "Atlas" intercontinental ballistic missile had been fired successfully from Cape Canaveral, Florida. The eighty-ton test missile travelled 6,325 miles.

A Review Of The News

→ The N. Y. Times reported that the national debt stood at \$280.9 billion on October 23, and that this represented an indebtedness of \$1,604.87 for every man, woman and child in the United States. Since the announcement was made, the national debt has continued to rise.

→ A new crisis developed over Berlin as Khrushchev and the East German puppet regime denounced the Western "occupation" of West Berlin and the Soviets called for the restoration of "freedom" to the city through the withdrawal of all World War II Allied military forces.

→ Japan's Crown Prince Akihito became engaged to a commoner, Miss Michiko Shoda, daughter of a wealthy industrialist. The Japanese people were pleased.

→ The McGraw-Hill publication *Aviation Week* asserted that the Soviets had test-flown the world's first nuclear-powered airplane — a bomber. Although Western experts were skeptical about the story, the liberals in Congress pounced on it as another excuse for their demand that vast new sums be spent on defense.

→ Winston Churchill celebrated his eighty-fourth birthday on the last day of the month.

→ Among those who died in November were: James M. Curley, eighty-three, colorful and controversial political boss, former Massachusetts Governor, U.S. Representative and four-term mayor of Boston; actor Tyrone Power, forty-five, who suffered a fatal heart attack while acting in a new film at Madrid, Spain; George Kettering, eighty-two, automotive inventor and

General Motors vice-president, who died at his Dayton (Ohio) home after suffering a stroke; and Polish-born Artur Rodzinski, sixty-four, conductor for many renowned orchestras, including the New York Philharmonic, who succumbed to a heart ailment at Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston.

In December, 1958 . . .

→ The Berlin crisis continued to simmer, with the Reds threatening to blockade West Berlin again and to oppose another Allied airlift by force. In municipal elections, West Berliners voted overwhelmingly against Communism. The Western Allies stood reasonably firm, but seemed to be moving towards another "summit" meeting. The crisis again underscored the absurd position into which the United States had allowed itself to be maneuvered in Berlin by Stalin at the end of World War II.

→ A ghastly fire swept a Roman Catholic parochial school in Chicago, killing ninety children and nuns and injuring approximately another one hundred.

→ The Indonesian parliament voted to nationalize all Dutch properties and enterprises seized in 1957. Compensation for the properties, valued at about \$2 billion, was left to "future agreements."

→ Henry Cabot Lodge, United States Ambassador to the United Nations, charged that Soviet terror was continuing in Hungary despite U.N. "efforts" (!) to end it.

→ Racketeering Teamsters boss James Hoffa continued to defy court measures to force a clean-up of his union.

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→ A NATO meeting in Paris was in general agreement on the need for firmness in the Berlin crisis, but showed little harmony otherwise.

→ Pre-Christmas strikes in the United States resulted in business losses and public inconvenience. A strike of New York City newspaper delivery men was not settled until nineteen days after it halted publication, on December 10, of all metropolitan dailies with the exception of the Wall Street Journal. Various airline strikes impeded holiday travel.

→ Senator Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) bagged much free publicity after returning from an eight-hour talk with Nikita Khrushchev in Moscow. It was widely feared that Humphrey, an ultra-liberal, was being used by the Kremlin to peddle its propaganda in the United States. One might also speculate on a possible connection between his visit to Moscow and the forthcoming visit to the United States by Anastas I. Mikoyan, Soviet deputy premier and trade czar.

→ United States prestige obtained a welcome boost with the successful launching of several missiles and space satellites. Most spectacular was the flawless firing into outer space of the "Atlas" rocket. Seventy-five feet long and weighing 8,700 pounds, "Atlas" was slightly longer but weighed an estimated five hundred pounds less than Russia's "Sputnik II" with its attached rocket carrier. "Atlas" was the world's first "talking" satellite, opening up exciting communication possibilities.

→ In Boston, Federal Judge Charles E. Wyzanski sentenced Bernard Goldfine

to three months in prison on a contempt of court charge arising from his refusal to obey an order to deliver business records to Internal Revenue Service agents. His secretary, Mildred Paperman, drew a ten-day sentence. Goldfine is the industrialist whose "generosity" led to the downfall of Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams.

→ By a landslide vote, General Charles de Gaulle was elected the first president of the Fifth French Republic. Under the new constitution, de Gaulle, elected to a seven-year term, will have more personal power than any Frenchman before him in a century. His impressive victory was another crushing blow to his Communist opponents. On the twenty-eighth, de Gaulle, in a realistic fiscal move, introduced his people to an austerity program and devalued the franc by 17.55 per cent—from 420 to 493.70 per U.S. dollar. At the same time, ten West European nations joined in an agreement to facilitate trade by easing restrictions against currency convertibility. The ten nations were: Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, The Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg.

→ As a Christmas present to Communist Tito of Yugoslavia the United States Government gave him approximately \$130 million in new economic aid.

→ At the end of the month, the civil war in Cuba flared up sharply and appeared to be entering a decisive stage.

→ Among those who died in December: Australian-born polar explorer Sir Hubert Wilkins, seventy, in Framingham, Massachusetts.

OUR DEAR FRIEND SUKARNO

by

RODNEY GILBERT

Because our government's continued showering of favors and support on Achmed Sukarno has been so disastrously harmful to the whole anti-Communist cause in Southeast Asia, we have frequently discussed Sukarno in these pages. For three years we have been insisting that Sukarno has been, throughout his career, a conscious agent of the Kremlin. For many revealing details supporting that thesis, we refer any interested reader to the February, 1957 number of ONE MAN'S OPINION, predecessor to this magazine.

The fact that at a couple of times in his climb to power Sukarno has suppressed other Communists seems to us to mean nothing. For there is not a Communist viceroy or potentate on either side of the Iron Curtain, from Nebru and Nasser to Tito and Khrushchev, who has not done the same thing at some stage of his ascent. Frequently these Kremlin benchmen have made capital for themselves with the Western peoples out of such rough treatment of fellow Communists, as Tito did at the time of his phoney break with Stalin, as Sukarno has done on a couple of occasions, and as Nasser is doing right now.

But our conclusion has been in large part only a logical deduction from circumstantial evidence. The following article is by a distinguished American newspaperman who has spent decades in different parts of eastern and central Asia. It is not opinion, but straight history. Mr. Gilbert does not classify Sukarno as having been a Communist all along. But he does make clear that the results in Southeast Asia have been much the same as if Sukarno had been taking his orders from the Kremlin since he first appeared on the scene.

THE ANTI-COMMUNIST rebellion that broke out in Sumatra in the middle of February, 1958, was about the best justified revolutionary movement in latter-day history. It was not a rebellion of riff-raff against a competent and respectable government. It was a rising of some of the best elements in Indonesia against a gang of demagogic adventurers who had made an unholy mess of the young republic's economic and fiscal affairs; whose bureaucracy was addicted to fantastic graft; who re-

lied more and more upon Communist mob action to retain control; and who had set up a Red-infested dictatorship in defiance of a popularly elected anti-Communist parliament and in contempt of the constitution. The revolt was a movement that should have been very much to the taste of the American people. It fully deserved the expressed sympathy and moral support of the United States government. But what did it get?

While the outcome was still uncer-

Our Dear Friend Sukarno

tain the American official attitude was as icily neutral as the State Department could make it. Then, when formal resistance appeared to have collapsed and the rebels had taken to the jungles to carry on guerilla activities — as they are still doing — Washington was in great haste to give assurances of this country's continued esteem to pro-Communist Dictator Sukarno and his unconstitutional government. The recipient of this esteem, an outspoken friend and imitator of Soviet Russia and of Red China, had contrived to stave off the nemesis that seventy million Communist-hating Moslems still have in store for him.

First there was a gift by our government of a substantial shipment of rice, so that the breakdown in transportation, caused by Sukarno's barbarous operations against our Dutch allies, might not cost him any popular support. Then there was a promise — soon carried out — of so-called police arms, the weapons most needed for further campaigns against the rebels. Then there was an offer of eight million dollars for the improvement of roads in Sumatra, to make easier and more efficient the suppression of such remnants of the revolt as have survived. Then, by way of further showing how cordial are the relations between our government and pro-Communist Dictator Sukarno, our Ambassador and his lady, with Sukarno and one of his ladies, ostentatiously performed some sort of dance together. And this high-level camaraderie was given the desired publicity through a photograph in an American magazine of large national circulation. Next, when a consignment of our gift of "police arms"

was delivered in Jakarta by flying box-cars, one such giant conveyance was used to give Sukarno and his friends the Javanese joyride which showed what a "buddy" he was with our Ambassador.

While all of this fawning on Sukarno by our State Department was going on, he decided it was the proper time to display his contempt for the United States, and to demonstrate to his local Communist following — and presumably to Moscow and Peiping — just how little these American gestures of "appeasement" meant to him. In mid-August, 1958 Sukarno told a mob assembled in front of his Freedom Palace that socialism is on the march throughout the world and will sweep capitalism and imperialism into oblivion. This is not given in quotation marks because the speech was in Malay; and several English translations that have appeared in print vary slightly in wording, though not at all in substance. Nor should anyone suppose that by socialism Sukarno did not mean Communism. For it must be understood that Indonesia has its own small but vigorous Socialist Party, made up of influential intellectuals, which is fiercely anti-Communist and therefore anti-Sukarno. It was not their kind of socialism, but the Moscow brand, which Sukarno was rhetorically riding as the wave of the future. And this declaration, coming on the heels of such material assistance and moral support by our government, should not have been any surprise to Washington. Sukarno has been saying essentially the same thing for many years, as we shall see. In fact, let's go back and take a good look at this poisonous specimen.

Our Dear Friend Sukarno

II

ACHMED S. SUKARNO was born in or near Surabaya, on the north coast of eastern Java, on June 6, 1901. While being educated in the local schools he boarded with a Moslem dignitary with the formidable name of Hadji (which means Mecca pilgrim) Umar Sayad Tyokroaminoto, founder of Java's Islamic League. This suggests a stern and pious upbringing, perhaps an overdose. From the schools of Surabaya, Sukarno moved on to Bandung's Technical Faculty. From this institution he got, then or later, that degree of Doctor of Civil Engineering which accounts for occasional references to him as "Dr. Sukarno."

Biographies that have appeared in Indonesian propaganda journals record that in 1927 he was founder of the National Party (Partai Nasional Indonesia). He was such a busy agitator for independence that, in 1929, the Dutch arrested him and gave him a four-year prison term for "endangering law and order." Released in 1932, Sukarno was again arrested in 1933, and became a political prisoner on Endah in the Sunda Islands. He was still a political prisoner when, in 1942, the Japanese occupation forces found him, released him, and at once recruited him into their service. Thenceforth he was an ardent collaborator with the Japanese, developing his talents as a spellbinder in their local propaganda work. The first photograph of Sukarno that ever appeared abroad showed him haranguing a mob at the burning in effigy of Winston Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Towards the end of the war, the Japanese in Indonesia had little or no contact with their homeland by sea, and

were well aware that total defeat for them was just a matter of time. So they made it their business to leave the Dutch and their allies as much trouble as they could, and chose Sukarno as the instrument of that policy. Just before Japan's unconditional surrender, the Japanese authorities in Java gave island-wide publicity to Japan's intention to free Indonesia. And *early in August, 1945*, Sukarno and Mohammed Hatta were shipped off to Saigon to receive from Field Marshal Count Terauchi this formal grant by Japan of independence to the "Republic of Indonesia." With these credentials Sukarno and Hatta bustled back to Jakarta; and Indonesia's independence was thus proclaimed, *still under Japanese auspices*, on *August 17, 1945*. It will be noted that Japan had unconditionally surrendered three days before, and on August 17, 1945, had neither the power nor the right to grant anything to anybody. Yet August 17 is the date still celebrated in the Indies as their independence day, with Terauchi's document as the charter of their liberties.

The Japanese military authorities, in line with their policy of leaving trouble behind them, immediately began surrendering arms to the forces that Sukarno and Hatta recruited. They persisted in doing so, even after a small British force, detached by Lord Mountbatten from his Indian command, had landed to accept the surrender of Japanese forces. There was thus engendered a state of rebellion approaching anarchy, under Sukarno and his colleagues, which the Dutch military could not handle by negotiation when they arrived. When the Dutch eventually undertook a mopping up campaign there was an outcry in the United

Our Dear Friend Sukarno

Nations for a "cease fire." It was ardently supported by Great Britain, Australia, and the United States. To this clamor the Netherlands yielded. In so doing they sealed their own fate as a colonial power in the East, and insured the succession of Japanese collaborators Sukarno and Hatta—also with the enthusiastic approval of the governments of the United States and Great Britain. Finally, in December, 1949, the Dutch themselves conceded full independence and sovereignty to "the United States of Indonesia." And within a matter of months Sukarno and gang abolished the federation and set up their own centralized government, called the Indonesian Republic.

III

MEANWHILE THE Communists-in-a-hurry had arrived. As early as 1923 Moscow's subversive agents, working southward from Canton, had reached the tip of the Malay peninsula and had gone on into the Dutch East Indies. Thence they started at once sending likely young converts to Moscow for training. An astonishing number of these alumni were back in Java by early 1946, with plenty of money; and they had soon recruited enough riff-raff to attempt a *coup* within that year. This was in line with what they had been taught in school in Soviet Russia. And they did not unlearn their Moscow lessons until, in September, 1948, a much more ambitious effort was ruthlessly crushed by Sukarno's revolutionary forces.

Since that time there has never been so much as a Communist demonstration in Indonesia that was not instigated by Sukarno, and which was not in his support. From 1948 to the present

time there has been no *public* preaching of Marxist doctrine—least of all of atheistic materialism, which would alienate the fervently Moslem population. There has been a minimum of glorification of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. In their stead, Sukarno has been made the hero. The Communist propaganda has been along three lines only: class warfare, anti-colonialism (meaning anti-Dutch), and pro-Sukarno. The ultimate objective of this policy was made clear by a spokesman for the Indonesian Communist Party at an all-Asian Communist convention in Calcutta in 1955. The Reds were going to make Sukarno the absolute master of the East Indies. By then they would be in the highest places in his entourage. And, at the right hour, they would take over for Moscow—with or without Sukarno as they chose.

In return for the great amount of support that the Reds gave him in his climb towards dictatorial power, Sukarno early allowed them a free hand in building up their mass strength. The Communist federation of labor—known in all reports from the islands as SOBSI—unionized and controlled dock, railroad, mine, oilfield, and big-plantation labor. But it was not until about five years ago that he openly turned to the Communists for their visible support and demanded that they be allowed representation in the government. This was when it appeared that Sukarno (who is a hopeless illiterate in economic and financial affairs) and his National Party bureaucracy were making a ghastly mess of one of the world's richest countries, and that he was losing such political support as he had from the respectable people in the islands.

By this time there were a number of

Our Dear Friend Sukarno

political parties which had taken a stand against corruption, economic mismanagement, and over-centralization of government. For this was a country in which the Dutch had recognized 172 "states," and had made liberal concessions to their various institutions and traditions. Though Sukarno pretended, on the one hand, to be non-partisan, he still did not mind being recognized as the head and champion of the National Party. By 1953 all the appointive jobs throughout the islands were held by inordinate grafters who were loyal members of that party, and it fairly crawled with crypto-Reds and fellow travelers. In close alliance with this National Party, of course, was the Communist Party with its labor federation (SOBSI), which was strong in Java but relatively weak elsewhere.

In opposition to these, at first deferential, then increasingly obstinate, and at last outspokenly hostile, was the major Moslem party, the Mesjumi. It had by all odds the largest membership in the islands, but was badly organized and politically inept. Working ever more closely with the Mesjumi as time went on was the more orthodox and conservative Natadul Ulama, which sometimes figures in despatches as "the Moslem Scholars Party." As Sukarno's personal influence was thrown increasingly in favor of Communist participation in the government, these big Moslem groups came into coalition with the Catholic and Protestant Christian Parties. In behind them, with no religious axe to grind, but zealously anti-Communist, came the Socialist Party. These three, Catholics, Protestants, and Socialists were small in numbers; but they were made up of the intellectually elite, and enjoyed popular respect.

These were the various groups that counted in Parliament, both before and after the popular elections in the autumn of 1955. But each had its own splinter allies. Amazingly enough, the elections brought out the fact that there were 190 groups in Indonesia which claimed to be parties. Small as most were, and small as were their representations in Parliament, it was a recognized fact that no premier could form a cabinet without the approval of its personnel by at least ten parties—until Sukarno pushed Parliament aside and assumed dictatorial power.

In fact it is this situation which Sukarno cites, in his talks with alien diplomats, as a sufficient excuse for ignoring Parliamentary approval or disapproval of his "guided democracy." The dictatorship, and appointment of his Djuanda "presidential cabinet," was set up in mid-March, 1957. At that time he conveniently discovered the existence of "a state of war and siege" in the islands, justifying martial law. It also "justified" a government and a national advisory council, both well packed with crypto- and not-so-crypto-Communists, with Achmed Sukarno as the boss.

IV

IT WAS IN AUGUST, 1953 that Sukarno had first tried to have a government formed with pro-Communist members. From that time down to his seizure of dictatorial authority in March, 1957, Sukarno had actually suffered one political setback after another. Under the constitution, and so long as it was observed, he had become politically impotent. To direct the minds of his people away from the visible evidence of this fact, he resorted to various devices and grandstand plays.

Our Dear Friend Sukarno

Twice in these latter years, when his political fortune has badly needed a hypodermic shot, he has declared that the whole imperialist West was conspiring to destroy Indonesia, and that he had documentary proof of the conspiracy. There were parliamentary demands that he produce the proof. Of course he never did.

In August, 1954, when his stock was low and going lower, Sukarno let out his first yelp for the "return" to Indonesia of the Dutch holdings in western New Guinea. This was revived in 1957. When the United Nations ignored his claim, Sukarno went ahead in his vicious expulsion of the Dutch, with the Communist SOBSI doing most of the dirty work.

But Sukarno's favorite device, when at a political bottom, has been to run abroad somewhere, get himself red-carpet treatment, and have this foreign glorification of himself well publicized at home. He has thus let the Indonesian millions think him so highly esteemed abroad that he is the Republic's indispensable ornament. Of such quality was his pilgrimage to Mecca—from which he returned, however, to find a solidly anti-Communist cabinet in formation, and to be told at the airport by an army-brass deputation that he had better take a vacation.

Of the same stuff, but far more successful in its results, was his nineteen-days state visit to the United States in 1956—for which he had wangled an invitation when his political tide was at a low ebb. Of course he went back with nothing good to say about the United States, and almost immediately ran off again—to visit his real friends in Peiping and Moscow for new inspiration. But the royal hullabaloo

raised over him in the United States, by the highest officials of our government, helped tremendously to start his tide rising again, to levels not reached before.

For this pilgrimage was made after those elections of September, 1955 had resulted in a Parliament overwhelmingly anti-Communist and hence anti-Sukarno. There had not been a faint hope left to Achmed and his Communist pals of forming a government, under the constitution, that would serve their interests. Within six months after he had addressed a joint meeting of both Houses of the American Congress, however, and had been honored by the longest "state visit" accorded a visiting "ruler" in American history, the skies looked brighter. Sukarno began to discover that the obstreperous provincial demand throughout the islands for more local autonomy was just that "state of war and siege" which fitted his ambitious plans. With his prestige newly raised, higher than ever, by the glory of his American tour, he dared carry them out. And so it was that, in contempt of the constitution, he set up, in March, 1957, the Djuanda cabinet which is still in power—so far as anything is in power but Sukarno.

It is to this ardently pro-Communist dictator, as bitterly hated by ninety per cent of his subjects as is Gomulka of Poland or Kadar of Hungary, that the United States now pays deference and homage. We also send him substantial and badly needed material support, at the expense of our taxpayers and to the bewilderment and consternation of every anti-Communist force in Asia. Not only do we have no word of sympathy for the rebels against this Kremlin-worshipping usurper, but we are

Our Dear Friend Sukarno

helping him to suppress them. And this cannot be because of any doubt as to which side Sukarno is on.

In the fall of 1954, when Sukarno had dismissed an anti-Communist defense minister and the army was demonstrating against that dismissal, he said: "We Indonesians do not want to see capitalism prevail here or abroad." This was quoted directly. Indirectly he was quoted as saying that Indonesia must look to Soviet Russia and Red China for guidance, because of the wonders being worked there with the support of the masses. In the fall of 1956, after visiting both the United States and Russia, Sukarno told a teachers' convention in Bandung: "Europe is the past; the United States is the present; but the U.S.S.R. is the future." To an all-party political conference in Jakarta, on February 21, 1957, he declared that: "Western democracy is unsuitable to us. The central authority here is too weak. What we must have is guided democracy." We have already mentioned, but now wish to repeat, his last word on his position, as translated with slight variations, which was offered to the mob in front of his palace on August 17, 1958: "Socialism is on the march throughout the world. Capitalism and imperialism are doomed and will soon be swept into oblivion." And the record is full of similar proofs of his loyalty to Marxism and admiration for its ruling dynasty. [*Including the highly laudatory and subservient telegram of congratulations which Sukarno sent to Stalin in 1945!* Editor]

What you and I think of this fellow and of the gentry in our State Department who continue to cultivate his good will, at enormous expense, doesn't matter much. What the millions in In-

donesia think, on seeing their rebellion cold-shouldered or worse by America—supposedly the great champion of anti-Communism—and on seeing their pro-Communist dictator lavishly patronized by our government, may not be of too great importance. What well-read Asiatics in other Islamic countries think of pictures of an American ambassador and his wife doing a silly dance with the champion of the "hate-God" party in Indonesia, we don't know. But we are sure enough that American policy in Indonesia is not what is needed to bolster the morale of other southeastern Asiatic peoples in their opposition to Red subversion and infiltration. It certainly does not inspire confidence in our steadfast support of resistance to Communist aggressiveness. And aren't we supposed to be spending our billions to just that end, among the peoples of Korea, Japan, Formosa, the Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, and Malaya? For the anti-Communists in all of those countries we have nowhere staged a more demoralizing show than we have in Indonesia — or at least not east of Iraq.

And A Postscript

The magazine *Newsweek* published in its issue of December 8—as coming from a Washington correspondent — what was evidently a State Department handout in justification of its much criticized support of the pro-Communist Sukarno regime. This report claimed that a new anti-Communist trend had now set in, under Indonesian military sponsorship; and that General A. H. Nasution was the director of an unproclaimed *coup* which had demoted Su-

Our Dear Friend Sukarno

Sukarno from his dictatorial position. Sukarno was being retained in nominal authority only because of his prestige as "the father of the revolution," and because of his gifts as a spellbinder.

This release must set some kind of a new record, even for our State Department; both as falsification of news and as an insult to the intelligence of the American people. It so happens that Nasution is the leading military man who has stood by Sukarno for years, in every situation in which the army has tried to force Sukarno to break with his Communist supporters. It was Nasution who organized the expeditions last year, which crushed the anti-Communist forces in Sumatra and Celebes. It also happens that it is Nasution who has been using the army to wage a systematic campaign of persecution and terror against all non-Communist Chinese in the islands.

For the past five years there has been growing discrimination against the Chinese in Indonesia who showed any interest in Free China. This was intensified when Chou En-lai attended the Bandung Conference. He got from

Sukarno an agreement that all Chinese in the islands who were not Indonesian citizens, and who did not thenceforth become citizens of Red China, would be dealt with as stateless persons. Since then, until a few months ago, expressions of opinion on political matters by such Chinese have been very cautious indeed.

But with the development of the so-called "crisis" over Quemoy, a great many of the Chinese in Indonesia became indiscreetly demonstrative in their hostility to the Reds. This was something Sukarno would not tolerate. Over fifty Chinese institutions, including banks, schools, newspapers, clubs, and commercial organizations, were closed with a bang. A group of more than forty prominent Chinese residents was rounded up and deported to an otherwise uninhabited island. All of these operations were carried out by the military forces under Nasution; and the persecution, by Sukarno's orders, still continues. That shows just how anti-Communist our State Department's other dear friend, General Nasution, really is.

CONFETTI

Two thousand years ago Diogenes Laertius asked his friends to bury him on his face. "Because," he explained, "in a little while everything will be turned upside down." We wonder how he would wish to be buried today.

* * *

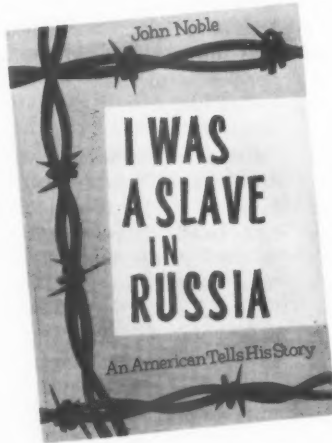
"Bride-elect," says the *Garden City Telegram*, is a term which ought to be banned from the society pages, because it is misleading. They're not elected; they appoint themselves.

We have just purchased a copy of the best-selling book, *Where Did You Go? Out. What Did You Do? Nothing*. Along with Delores Hope, we were surprised to find that it was not a biography of John Foster Dulles.

* * *

The *Arkansas Baptist* quotes one overweight female handing out a compliment to another: "Mrs. Robinson, those certainly are charming flowers. They make you look like a Virginia hillside."

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SOME TRUTHS ABOUT CASTRO

by

J. B. MATTHEWS

In the first section of IF YOU WANT IT STRAIGHT, in this issue, we touched on a situation which would develop whenever Fidel Castro was successful in taking over Cuba. Of course we did not know, when we wrote those paragraphs, that it would happen before we could get into print.

Through the week-end cooperation of Dr. Matthews, however, and by our taking out the book-review section at the very last minute, we are able to publish in this number the following brief article, to give our readers a clearer view of where Castro really stands. For seldom has our metropolitan press displayed more criminal irresponsibility — or worse — than in presenting the murderous Castro as a "democratic" hero, and in utterly failing to alert the American people to the significance of this Communist victory just outside our doors.

THE UNITED STATES policy of neutralism in Cuba has paid off—for the Communists. On March 14, 1958, our State Department made the fateful decision to impose an embargo on all shipments of arms to Cuba. New Year's Day of 1959 saw the fruition of this neutralist position, taken by the United States in the struggle between the government of Fulgencio Batista and the terroristic forces led by Fidel Castro.

In the pre-dawn hours of the New Year, the news of the collapse of the Batista regime set off an orgy of looting and murder in which the followers of Castro gave free rein to all of their sadistic impulses. The toll in property damages and lives will never be known. It was a fitting culmination of the career of the young adventurer, Fidel Castro, whose entire adult life has been spent in plotting and executing the Communist conquest of his native country. Whether Castro and his Fidelistas

will go on to establish a "people's democracy" in the Pearl of the Antilles remains to be seen.

The liberal press of the United States, led by the *New York Times* and *Look* magazine, has labored long and hard to picture Castro as the new George Washington, or at least the new Simon Bolivar, of Cuba. To Herbert L. Matthews of the *Times*, Castro and his fellow bandits have been "giving their lives for an ideal and for their hopes of a clean, democratic Cuba."

Herbert L. Matthews is not a beginner in the business of slanting news in favor of Communists and Communist causes. In the 1930's, he covered the civil war in Spain for the *New York Times*. By the injection of his pro-Communist bias into his dispatches from Spain, he became a journalistic pet of the leftwingers. He became a member of the League of American Writers, an organization which has been

Some Truths About Castro

cited as "subversive and Communist" by the Attorney General of the United States. In recent years, Matthews has been given special assignments by the *Times* in trouble spots in Latin America; and he has consistently ignored or minimized the Communist factor in critical situations. His most recent assignments have been as special correspondent in Cuba. In his reporting of the news from Cuba, he has followed the Castro-Communist line.

It is not strange that Herbert L. Matthews is still a favorite of the leftwingers in the United States and throughout Latin America. The principal leftist propaganda organization dealing with Latin American affairs in the United States is the *Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom*. Its annual award recently went to Herbert L. Matthews. The secretary-general of the IAADF is one Frances R. Grant. Her Communist-fronting career goes back at least twenty years, to the days when she was a member of the executive committee of the Communist organization, Council for Pan American Democracy. The IAADF was organized at a conference held in Havana, May 12-14, 1950. The principal speaker at the Havana conference was Waldo Frank, whose Communist record is voluminous and of long standing. It includes his participation in the filing of a brief on behalf of the Communist Party, USA, during the October, 1955, Term of the United States Supreme Court. It should go without saying that this leftist *Inter-American Association* is throwing its support to the Castro reign of terror.

Castro In Bogota

If any single day of the 20th Century can be accurately described as the "day

of infamy" in the annals of Latin America, surely April 9, 1948, was that day. On no other date in modern history was there such a demonstration of lawlessness. The behavior of the Communist-organized mob in Venezuela on May 13, 1958, when unbelievable indignities were heaped on Vice-President and Mrs. Nixon in Caracas, did not compare with the reign of Communist terror in the capital of Colombia on April 9, 1948.

Fidel Castro, a youth of twenty-one, was a member of the terroristic Communist-led mob which reduced a large part of the city of Bogota to ashes and left in its wake thousands of dead and wounded. The holocaust was a veritable carnival of murder. Castro's propagandists in the United States omit all mention of the fact that their present Cuban hero was a participant in the bloodshed and destruction wrought by Bogota's Communist-inspired bandits and vandals. Castro was arrested for murder and is reported to have boasted, "I did a good day's work today; I killed a priest."

Last year Fidel Castro picked a day for leading a general strike throughout all of Cuba, a day that was intended to mark his first major offensive against the Batista regime. It was clearly with recollections of the brigandage and massacre of Bogota that he chose April 9, 1958. On that day he gave Cuba a preview of his capacity to inaugurate a regime of horror.

July 26, 1953

When Fidel Castro led a band of eighty-two youths ashore on the east coast of Cuba, on December 2, 1956, he came equipped with a name for his insurrectionary conquest of the island. He called it the "26th of July Movement."

Some Truths About Castro

This particular date was selected because Castro had led an abortive insurrection against the Moncada Barracks in Santiago de Cuba on July 26, 1953. Castro was arrested, tried, and received a comparatively light sentence of fifteen years imprisonment.

On November 1, 1954, President Batista declared a general amnesty and Castro was set free. If Batista were the ruthless tyrant pictured by a large part of the press of the United States, Fidel Castro would still be serving his fifteen-year sentence on the Isle of Pines.

On being freed from prison, Castro came to New York, where he made contacts which would be useful for his future purposes. It is reported that these New York contacts eventually yielded more than a million dollars, and untold quantities of arms which were successfully smuggled from the United States to his hideaway in the Sierra Maestra of eastern Cuba.

In 1956, Castro went to Mexico. In Mexico City, he made contacts with Communist agents who were assigned to educate him and his fellow youths in the arts of guerilla warfare. Brig. Gen. Alberto Bayo, a veteran of the Communist forces in the Spanish civil war, was on hand to supply the necessary training. After two months of intensive instruction, Castro and his band of eighty-two were ready to embark for Cuba. With them went one Ernesto Guevara, who was second in command to Castro. Guevara, an Argentinian Communist, was in charge when the Fidelistas seized Santa Clara and precipitated the fall of Batista's government on New Year's Day, 1959.

The Lie Of The Liberals

Leftwing journalists in the United

States have foisted upon the public the falsehood that the Communists have never opposed Batista; and that the Communists, therefore, are not a part of the 26th of July Movement.

The Communists themselves have given the lie to this claim of the liberals; or to any thought that the Castro rebellion is not supported with all the power of the Kremlin's apparatus. On November 4, 1958, the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba (the Communist Party of Cuba) issued an official statement of allegiance to Castro. Anyone who wishes to read it in an English translation will find the text of this manifesto in the December, 1958, issue of *Political Affairs*, the official monthly magazine of the Communist Party, USA. The national committee of the Popular Socialist Party declared: "We must go forward . . . in the struggle to aid in extending and strengthening the armed forces now battling the Batista tyranny."

Moscow, too, has spoken. In *Pravda*, February 23, 1958, we read: "In workshops and factories, in schools and colleges of Moscow, discussions are now being organized about the struggle of the freedom-loving people of Cuba against the dictatorial regime of General Batista. . . In the Moscow State University a meeting was organized to express the solidarity of students with the youth of fighting Cuba."

From One Who Knows

No other man in the diplomatic service of the United States has had a more extensive or distinguished career in Latin America than the Honorable Spruille Braden. Among his many assignments in the countries of this hemisphere, he has been the United States Ambassador to Cuba. After serv-

Some Truths About Castro

ing in the embassies, he was Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America.

In the summer of 1958, Mr. Braden published the following in an appraisal of the Cuban situation:

"Rebel chief Fidel Castro is a pawn in the Kremlin's international intrigue. He is backed by Red agents who are plotting to bring Cuba under Communist domination.

"Batista is America's best friend in

Cuba and the strongest bulwark against the flood tide of Communism.

"Yet, through insidious propaganda the Reds have made a hero out of Castro and fooled the American public."

Once more, as so often in the past, the conspirators of the Kremlin have registered a tremendously strategic victory in the war of world conquest. And this one is in *our* front yard.

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